

The Review of English Studies

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Editors: PETER ALEXANDER, NORMAN DAVIS

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THE ASSEMBLY OF LADIES AND GENERYDES

By DEREK PEARSALL

A POEM would not now be accepted as Chaucer's or Lydgate's without reliable external evidence, however closely it might resemble their work in style and handling: this is as it should be, for these two, the revered masters of English 'rethoryke',¹ were imitated by every courtly poet, and the stylistic tradition of fifteenth-century secular courtly poetry is therefore so homogeneous that hypotheses of common authorship need an overwhelming weight of supporting evidence. Closeness of resemblance is evidence only of superior imitation. The attempts of fifteenth-century scribes and sixteenth-century printers to load Chaucer and Lydgate with the miscellaneous poetic output of the fifteenth century, though often plausible, are sufficient warning of the dangers of relying on internal evidence. However, where two anonymous poems resemble each other closely, and where ascription to an acknowledged master is not in question, internal evidence carries more weight, and the possibility of common authorship may be entertained. It is thus with *The Assembly of Ladies* and *Generydes*.²

The Assembly of Ladies (AL) is a conventional love-allegory, in 756 lines of rhyme royal, describing a dream in which the narrator, a lady, goes to the court of Lady Loyalty at Pleasant Regard, where an assembly is held to listen to the complaints of wronged ladies against their lovers and to arrange for the redress of their grievances. The poem is heavily in debt to Lydgate's *Temple of Glass*, but the stamp of Chaucer and Lydgate and of the whole fifteenth-century tradition of courtly love-allegory is all over it. *Generydes* is a conventional romance, in 6,995 lines of rhyme royal, probably from a French original.³ It would be impossible to summarize its story briefly: let it suffice to say that it has a noble but easily outwitted hero, a beautiful but tearful heroine, a tyrannical father, a wicked steward, a treacherous queen, faithful servitors, pathetic love-scenes, and interminable

¹ Hawes considers Lydgate his master and praises him at far greater length than Chaucer (*Pastime of Pleasure*, e.g. 1310-407).

² There are three late-fifteenth-century manuscripts of the *Assembly* (in B.M. Add. 34360, Trinity College R. 3. 19, and Longleat 258) and a print in Thynne's collected Chaucer (1532). The only modern edition of the poem is in *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, ed. Skeat (Oxford, 1897), pp. 380-404. Skeat's is an eclectic text based on Thynne. *Generydes* was diplomatically edited from the unique Trinity College, Cambridge, MS. O. 5. 2, by W. Aldis Wright for the E.E.T.S., o.s. 55 (1873), 70 (1878).

³ As we learn from the introduction to another version of the same story in octosyllabic couplets, edited by Furnivall for the Roxburghe Club (1866) from the unique Helmingham MS.

battles, and that the action ranges over a vast remote region variously called India, Persia, Egypt, and Africa. For neither *AL* nor *Generydes* is there any external evidence of authorship. Though the former was once attributed to Chaucer, the arguments against Chaucerian authorship are conclusive, and need not be recapitulated here.¹

AL has been closely linked with another late-fifteenth-century poem, *The Flower and the Leaf*, since the publication of Skeat's *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*. *AL* and *The Flower and the Leaf* are there printed side by side, and, starting from the assumption that both poems are in fact by women, as they purport to be, Skeat brings forward further evidence to establish the common authorship of the two poems.² There could be no clearer illustration of the dangers, referred to above, of relying on internal evidence of authorship in the fifteenth-century poetic context, since the resemblances of theme, incidents, setting, style, and phraseology that Skeat quotes are, without exception, the commonplaces of the age.³ The assumption that both poems are by women is, of course, purely speculative, and not arguable unless supported by other evidence.

The resemblances between *AL* and *Generydes* are of a totally different nature, and, though quotation of isolated parallels can be inadequate or misleading, it may serve to give some sense of the closeness of a relationship which prolonged acquaintance with both poems only confirms. (Wright's edition is used for *Generydes*, and *AL* is quoted from MS. Add. 34360.)

Theyr were knyghtis and aquyers many one (*AL* 14)

Ther wer knyghtes and squyers many on,

Hym self walkeng in his disporteng place (*Gen.* 646 f; cf. also *AL* 9)

With knyghtes and with sqyers many on (*Gen.* 3089)

Remembryng of many dyvers cace

Of tyme past, musyng with sighes depe (*AL* 75 f.)

In grete distresse musyng of tymes past (*Gen.* 6543)

¹ See E. P. Hammond, *Chaucer: a Bibliographical Manual* (New York, 1908), pp. 408 f.; W. W. Skeat, *The Chaucer Canon* (London, 1900), pp. 110 f.

² *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. lxii-lxx. Further articles on the subject are listed in Hammond's *Manual*, pp. 423 f. The question will be fully discussed in a forthcoming edition of the two poems in Nelson's *Medieval and Renaissance Library*.

³ One example must suffice. Skeat, challenged by critics who said that the verbal resemblances he quoted were only common tags, replied by quoting again the phrase *twain and twain*, appearing in both poems, which he said did not occur in Chaucer or Shakespeare, and which he could find nowhere else (*Athenaeum*, 1903, i. 340); but it occurs at least eight times in Lydgate. Skeat's further speculation that both poems are by the Countess of Oxford, supposedly the authoress of some verses found amongst the Paston letters, rests on no evidence.

My dwellyng is and hath be many a day
 With a lady (AL 95 f.)

Whiche is ontrewe and hath be many a daye (Gen. 352, also 5685)

Hir porte is suche, hir maner is terewe and playne,
 She with glad chiere wil do hir busy peyne
 To bryng yow there (AL 137-9)

Of all hir manerys callid trew and playne (Gen. 4845)
 To make hym chere they dede ther besy payn¹ (Gen. 68)

And furth we wente a soft and esy pase,
 Til at the last we were on oure journey
 So fer onward that we myght se the place.
 'Nowe lete us rest', quod I, 'a litel space' (AL 219-22)

Rideng alone soft and an easy pace (Gen. 4953, but cf. also *Tale of Beryn* 1471)
 To that contre they toke the wey full right,
 And on hir wey so ferre fourth were thei goon,
 That of the citee sone they hadde a sight (Gen. 632-4)

So ferre fourth he was on his jurnay
 That into the land of Perse aryvid he (Gen. 5705 f.)
 Hym for to rest as for a litill space² (Gen. 2317)

'With al myn hert', quod she, 'I gre me wele' (AL 225)
 Quod he, 'Madame, I gre me wele'³ (Gen. 1141, also 5294)

Sith ye have take upon yow al this peyne (AL 240)
 Hough have ye take uppon yow all this payn? (Gen. 6882)

This yong womman departed was and gone (AL 275, also 393)
 Yet or that he departed was and goon (Gen. 703)

I can no more, but Ihesu be yowre spede (AL 294)
 I canne noo more, but Ihesu be your spede (Gen. 1015, cf. 4270)

And so to do I am right wele content (AL 315)
 It to reseyye I am right wele content (Gen. 5082)

Ful humbly besechyng hir goodnesse . . .
 That she wold be goode lady and maystresse (AL 443-5)
 Full umbely besechyng your goodnes
 That of all this I may have forgevenes (Gen. 6567 f.)

¹ The Longleat MS. of *AL* and Thynne's print read *maner(e)s* in *AL* 137. *busy peyne* is a phrase found in Chaucer and common in Lydgate.

² The phrase *a litel space* is common in both poems, but appears occasionally elsewhere too.

³ The rare *gre* is a direct adaptation of OF. *greer*, 'agree', and is found in the English poems of Charles of Orleans.

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For us must with hir have moche to doo
In oure matiers and alwey more and more (AL 509 f.)

Moche pepyll slayn and alway moo and moo (Gen. 5119)

And so furth to telle yow furthermore (AL 511)

And so furth on to telle yow ferthermore (Gen. 4971, also 4852, 5302; cf. 5110,
5775, 5855, 6027)

That in earnest to speke, withouten faile,

For yong and old and every maner age

It was a world to loke on hir visage (AL 537-9)

Of yong and old and every maner of age (Gen. 2831)

Bothe yong and old and every maner of age (Gen. 6937)

It was a world to here the sperys breke¹ (Gen. 2205)

But neede wil have his cours in every thyng (AL 665)

For love will have his course for eny thing (Gen. 896)

And *Bien monest*, as ferre as I cowth feele,

That was hir worde, til hir wele belongyng (AL 675 f.)

'My lord', quod she, 'as ferre as I canne fele,

In this mater I can ne think but wele' (Gen. 5431 f.)

Ful hertily, to say yow in substaunce (AL 678)

The whiche was this, to say yow in substaunce (Gen. 3158)²

Such resemblances, it will be seen, are exact, detailed, and extensive. It is difficult to see how either poem could have exerted the influence to produce imitation on such a scale. The simplest deduction is that the same poet, wanting to say the same thing, said it in the same words. I have deliberately excluded from the above list tags and stereotyped expressions which appear elsewhere in fifteenth-century verse, but examination shows that both poems draw most heavily on the same stock phrases, verse-fillers, and rhyming tags.³ A list of such parallels would appear overwhelming out of their traditional context.

¹ Chaucer and Lydgate use a similar hyperbole with *hevene* and *paradise*, but this variation is peculiar to *AL* and *Gen*.

² A selection of further close parallels: *AL* 25, cf. *Gen*. 1101, 1747 f.; 28, cf. 823, 106; 173, 100, cf. 3678 f.; 311, cf. 3190, 5263; 319, cf. 1919, 6; 341, cf. 5; 394 f., cf. 2668-70, 4973; 494, 518, cf. 4998, 1232; 651, cf. 959; 741 f., cf. 1968 f.; 750-2, cf. 1006, 1971, 3619, 3066, 776, 1732.

³ A few examples: *wel* I wote, 166, 301, 687, *Gen*. 581, 1593, 1781, 2696, &c.; *wote ye what*, 171, 246, 481, 542, 660, *Gen*. 612, 2446, 4404, 5219, 6858; *wite ye wele*, 242, 451, 484, *Gen*. 976, 1253, 1300, 1398, 2201, 2310, &c.; *to sey the soth*, 66, 702, *Gen*. 927, 1214, 1917, &c.; *I yow ensue*, 52, 199, 495, 517, *Gen*. 169, 223, 483, 893, 1084, &c.; *on warantise*, 406, *Gen*. 174, 287, 5938, 6470, 6803; *without wordes mo*, 289, *Gen*. 1181, 2461, 3471, 3664, 3749, 3806, &c.; *without feyneng*, 336, 340, *Gen*. 1214, 1290, 1347, 2301, 2754, &c.; *furtherwithall*, 193, 309, 643, 735, *Gen*. 298, 330, 456, 574, 636, 709, &c.

Comparison of the language of the two poems is not likely to yield much, because of scribal corruption and the fixity of the fifteenth-century literary dialect, but the rhymes have something to tell us. On the whole, the rhyming habits (e.g. *y/ie* rhymes, rhymes on close and open long *e* and *o*, on participial *-ing*, on *-ous*, *-oun* terminations) of the two poems are identical, except that *AL* has more rhyming words ending in *-aunce* (owing to the frequent use of abstract personifications as *dramatis personae*) and far more rhymes on *everychone*, *echone*, *anone*. But two particular tricks of rhyming set off *AL* and *Generydes* unmistakably from other fifteenth-century verse, namely the use of *certainne*, in *certainne*, for *certaine*, and of phrases in *wise* (*in every wise*, *in no wise*, &c.) as rhyming tags. Here statistics may not be altogether misleading, and I have collected instances of these practices from a representative selection of fifteenth-century verse in rhyme royal, using a unit of 756 lines (the length of *AL*) as a basis for comparison. The identity of authorship is convincingly demonstrated.¹

Rhymes on:	<i>AL</i>	<i>Generydes</i>		<i>Lydgate</i>		Hoc-cleeve	Veg-e-tius	<i>FL</i>	<i>Par-tenay</i>	Hawes
		A	B	early	late					
<i>certainne</i>	12	8	10	0	2	0	0	0	6	3
<i>wise</i>	17	16	16	3	1	2	0	2	1	1

The handling of the line and the stanza also in the two poems is very similar. The end-stopped line is dominant, with enjambment in only about 7 per cent. of lines (as against, for instance, about 15 per cent. in *Lydgate* and over 25 per cent. in *The Flower and the Leaf*). The stanza is treated as a unit: stanza-linking is permitted only in about one stanza in 12 (over 1 in 3 in *The Flower and the Leaf*). Within the stanza, rhyme exercises a tyranny which can be overcome only by dilution of the sense and the use of tags: there is a marked reluctance to begin a new thought after the fourth line of the stanza, and the padding is often but thinly disguised (e.g. *AL* 103-5, 510 f., 599-602, 629 f., 642-4; *Gen.* 1916-18, 1930-2, 1937-9, 3154-7, 3953-5). In both poems, pith and point are sacrificed unhesitatingly to fluency of metre and stanzaic unity: the most egregious examples are in *Generydes* (there is nothing in *AL* quite like *Gen.* 3151-7), which accords with a view of it as the earlier of the two poems, and a close translation.

¹ The extracts are: *Generydes* 1-756 and 3525-4281; *Lydgate's Temple of Glass* 321-530, 701-931, 970-1284 (only parts of this poem are in rhyme royal) and *Fall of Princes*, ix. 1-756; Hoccleve's *Regement of Princes* 2001-756; *Knyghthode and Bataile* (trans. of Vegetius, *De Re Militari*) 2000-755; *The Flower and the Leaf* (595 lines only); *Romans of Partenay* 2003-758; Hawes's *Pastime of Pleasure* 2001-756. All poems not already cited are edited for the Early English Text Society.

Again and again the same narrative contexts provoke the same set of reactions, often in relationships too elaborately unconscious for any but the most extensive quotation to convey to a reader not closely acquainted with both poems. Thus the introduction of a character in *AL* is usually the signal for a line or two of conventionalized description: Perseverance appears to the dreamer, 'A gentil womman metely of stature' (79); later, Diligence comes to guide her to the palace, 'A womman come, a verray goodely oon' (192); at the assembly, the last lady presents her petition,

The fourth surely, me thought, she liked wele,
As in hir port and in hir havyng. (673 f.: other MSS. *behavyng*)

One recalls the description of Generydes:

A very goodly man, I you ensure,
With good vesage, full metely of stature,
His porte, his chere, and all his behavinge
Full like a jentilman in every thyng. (431-4)

Much of the latter part of *AL* is taken up with stylized 'complaints' of ladies against their lovers: there is not much occasion for this sort of thing in *Generydes*, but when the occasion does arise (6282-8), the technique of treatment is identical.

One of the most characteristic features of *AL*, and one which redeems many of its other shortcomings, is its lively, bustling dialogue. Every opportunity is seized for introducing conversation, especially the quick exchange of question and answer, and repartee (e.g. 15-25, 95-102, 262-73, 277-87, 326-36, 358-64, &c.). *Generydes* shares fully this partiality for dialogue, and here we can to some extent measure its indebtedness to its French original by comparison with the Helmingham version (*H*) of the same story. The two versions, one in rhyme royal, the other in octosyllabic couplets, are identical in every essential detail of the narrative, but totally different in approach and treatment, and in this matter it is clear that the stanzaic *Generydes* (*G*) often deliberately introduces or expands passages of dialogue. Lines 3665-713, for instance, are typical in their use of lively, realistic dialogue for purposes of exposition, just as in *AL*: the travellers meet a pilgrim, pass the time of day, chat about their journey, ask about the latest news of the city which is their destination, and for directions to get there; there are ten exchanges of speech. Of all this, *H* has but one request and one short speech by the palmer of patent exposition (6243-58). So struck was the author of *G* by this device of the informative pilgrim that he uses it again later, where it is strictly superfluous (5271-94): some purpose of recapitulation is served, but he is really indulging his fondness for meetings and conversations. There is no trace of this meeting in *H*. Further typical additions are 4261-70, 4359, 4421-3. Even where dialogue

is taken over from the original, it is fragmented, sharpened, enlivened with question and answer: 3961-4004, for instance, have twelve exchanges of speech for the five of *H* (6561-98). *AL* and *G* also share certain tricks of speech like the habit of catching up a word in reply for emphatic denial (cf. Chaucer, *Wife of Bath's Tale*, C.T. iii. 1098, *Book of the Duchess*, 1075, 1115):

'Is it a jape, or say ye soth?' quod she.

'In jape? nay, nay! I sey it for certeyne' (*AL* 348 f.)

'Is she weddid? tell me the very certente'.

'Weddid?' quod she, 'nay, nay, I yow ensure' (*Gen.* 5607 f.; cf. 169)

or of commenting on the suitability of a name or title (e.g. *AL* 171 f., 344, 753; *Gen.* 504 f.).

Another characteristic of *AL* is the strong gnomic and proverbial strain (e.g. 418-20, 576-8, 649-51, 665): where a moral can be drawn, it will be drawn. *Generydes* shows the same tendency, and comparison with *H* shows that passages of moralizing are often additions (e.g. 4523-9, 5219-21, 5267, 5699 f.): lines 2987-9, also added, have a neatness and a clipped restraint which recall the best in *AL*:

'Good ser', quod he, 'take ye no maner of hevynesse,

Now shynneth the sonne and now God sendith showrez,

This day was thereys, another shal be ourez.'

The poet of *AL* is a careful, serious fellow, not overburdened with poetic genius, but never lapsing into impropriety or indecorousness: the tone of the poem is extraordinarily uniform, a level, cool monochrome which it would be ingenuous to call dull. The basic material of *G* is rather different, but where he diverges from *H* the poet seems to be imposing the same code of propriety and decorum. It would not be misleading to call it a ladylike approach: probably both *AL* and *Generydes* were written for a predominantly female audience in some noble or manorial household. Where *H*, for instance, will always describe battles with insatiable gusto, lingering lovingly over details of limbs lopped off and heads cloven to the neck-bone, *G* will throw out a screen of abstraction or delicate euphemism, e.g.

The whiles oon gaf him on the ere

Such a clap with his fist

That he thoo the ground kyst;

The cheke in twoo he brast,

And his neke on sondre thrast,

And therwith he yeld up the goost. (*H* 8740-5)

Cf. He smote Gusare so harde uppon the cheke

That leche craft hym nede non other seeke. (*G* 5657 f.)

¹ Cf. also *H* 2111-15, 2120-6, *G* 1000, 1007; *H* 2753-64, *G* 1464-70; *H* 2790-8, *G* 1482-4.

Nor will *G* allow his heroes to trample fallen enemies under their horses' hoofs in the authentic romance tradition (*H* 4020, cf. *G* 2366; *H* 4592, cf. *G* 2706); their manners are much too refined. *G* takes the greatest pains to emphasize the high moral tone of the protracted courtship of Generydes and Clarionas: again and again the poet goes out of his way to add reminders that Generydes's intentions were entirely honourable, and that there was no wanton dalliance between the lovers, or to stress Clarionas's maidenly hesitancy or Generydes's impeccable gentlemanliness (e.g. 918-24, 5073; 6220-46, cf. *H* 9499 ff.; 6338-44, cf. *H* 9616). An ambiguous episode in *H*, where the lovers sleep with a naked sword between them, is changed in *G* so that they sleep in separate 'logges' (3895). Some rather oriental customs of the Sultan's court are quietly suppressed (*H* 2725-30, cf. *G* 1450-6; *H* 3141-6, cf. *G* 1720-2; *H* 5425 ff., cf. *G* 3167).

Serious as he is, however, the poet of *G* is no sober-sides, and he often finds occasion to add touches of mild irony and humorous understatement (e.g. 898 f., 1601-3, 2329 ff., 2653 f., 6371 f.) to the commonplaces of his original, in a spirit strikingly akin to the quiet sarcasm with which the narrator of *AL* is presented as a busy, vain, and insuppressible gossip.

But *Generydes* shares the faults of *AL* as well as its other qualities, for not all the additions to *H* are clear profit. *H* is a specimen of what might be called typical popular romance, with its simple emotionalism and pathos, its long formalized battle-pieces, its love of elaborately detailed fantastic description, and its use of minstrel tricks like the address to the audience (e.g. 999) and the tautological litotes formula (e.g. 108). In his task of compression and refinement, the author of *G* not only blurs the narrative line by omitting essential details (e.g. 196, 1194 ff., cf. *H* 616; 3815-17, cf. *H* 6373-8) as well as inessential, a failing which recalls the diffuse handling of the narrative—as opposed to the dialogue—in *AL*, but also blunts the sharp impact of the homely, the odd, the casually precise by enveloping the whole in a haze of urbane abstraction. Long, detailed descriptions (e.g. *H* 168-91, 255-327, 1499-1516) are replaced by a few conventional generalities (*G* 63, 71-74, 145, 673-9), the frank and direct by the vague and abstruse (e.g. 582-5, cf. *H* 1405 f.). Often, as in *AL*, the motions of versifying seem automatic, as if the poet were giving only half his attention to the story, and at worst the two poems share to a remarkable degree an exasperating unwillingness to regard words as anything but metrical counters.

There is, as has been said, no positive external evidence of authorship for either *AL* or *Generydes*, but on the other hand there is nothing to contradict the hypothesis of common authorship. The *Generydes* manuscript is dated 'about the middle of the fifteenth century' by Wright (ed. cit., p. v), but a re-examination of the manuscript, the detailed results of which are to

be published shortly, suggests that it was copied in the second rather than the first half of the fifteenth century, which brings the *terminus ad quem* for that poem closer to the likely date of *AL*. This is usually estimated to be c. 1475, a date which can be approximately verified from the evidence of language, vocabulary, and narrative setting (dress, architecture, &c.). Of the two poems, *Generydes* would be the earlier; it is not likely to have been written by a woman.

M
The description of the ship and the crew in the first part of the poem is a very detailed and accurate one. The ship is described as a "great ship" and the crew as "many men". The ship is described as being "very fast" and the crew as being "very strong". The ship is described as being "very big" and the crew as being "very many". The ship is described as being "very good" and the crew as being "very brave". The ship is described as being "very fast" and the crew as being "very strong". The ship is described as being "very big" and the crew as being "very many". The ship is described as being "very good" and the crew as being "very brave".

The second part of the poem is a very detailed and accurate one. The ship is described as being "very fast" and the crew as being "very strong". The ship is described as being "very big" and the crew as being "very many". The ship is described as being "very good" and the crew as being "very brave". The ship is described as being "very fast" and the crew as being "very strong". The ship is described as being "very big" and the crew as being "very many". The ship is described as being "very good" and the crew as being "very brave".

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WORD-PLAY IN *WOMEN BEWARE WOMEN*

By CHRISTOPHER RICKS

MIDDLETON'S *Women Beware Women* is very obviously a play about the corruption of life and love by money. This is at once clear in the fundamental terms of the action and characters. Leantio elopes with Bianca, in defiance of her higher social position: the Duke lusts for her and so (with the aid of Livia and Guardiano, who are eager for riches and advancement) he bribes her into becoming his mistress. Livia becomes enamoured of Leantio, and seduces him with money, clothes, and promises; but Leantio is killed by her brother Hippolito, whose sense of family honour is outraged, and who has been falsely told by the Duke that a great marriage has been planned for Livia. In her fury, Livia reveals the incestuous affair (which she had herself furthered) between her brother and his niece Isabella—the affair which is masked by the arranged marriage of Isabella to the rich half-witted Ward.

The action and characters, then, are explicit about the power of money. And the imagery reinforces the theme; there are innumerable references to treasure, precious stones, silver: all the familiar bric-à-brac of romantic love takes on a disconcertingly materialist tone. Miss Bradbrook sees that such images are obvious enough, and so passes quickly over them: 'The metaphors of wealth need hardly be considered; their functions will be evident. Affection is the wealth of the good. Bianca, while she is chaste, is Leantio's "treasure", his "jewel", his "life's wealth". He in turn is Livia's "riches".'¹ But the subtleties of Middleton's word-play are rather less obvious. As Mr. T. S. Eliot pointed out, 'in this play Middleton shows his interest—more than any of his contemporaries—in innuendo and double meanings'.² The following pages are an attempt to show that the words enact the same tragic dilemma as the action, characters, and images.

Middleton's aim is to connect the world of money with the world of love, and to demonstrate how they interpenetrate, so that love becomes mercenary lust. Of the words which connect the two worlds, the most important is *business*. It stands, clearly enough, for the workaday world of money; but it also often has a sexual application which is commonly found in the seventeenth century.³ *Business* epitomizes the conflicts of the play. The first use of it is one that, by careful syntax, leaves its meaning

¹ *Themes and Conventions of Elizabethan Tragedy* (Cambridge, 1935), p. 238.

² *Selected Essays* (London, 2nd edn. 1934), p. 166.

³ See O.E.D. under *Business*, 19.b, and *Bury*, 1.e.

poised between the alternatives: Leantio in the first scene tells his mother not to worry about the elopement—

I'll prove an excellent husband, here's my hand,
Lay in provision, follow my business roundly,
And make you a grandmother in forty weeks.

(I. i. 107-9)¹

But Leantio's resolution is never firm, and fifty lines later he has already swung into feeling that worldly business can be ignored for the pleasures of Bianca's company:

Though my own care and my rich master's trust
Lay their commands both on my factorship,
This day and night I'll know no other business
But her and her dear welcome.

(I. i. 151-4)

Yet Leantio simply cannot afford to keep Bianca without working; and so he must leave early the next morning. He manages to tear himself away—though not without a twinge when Bianca appears at the window, so that he cries out:

Farewell all business; I desire no more
Than I see yonder.

(I. iii. 16-17)

His tragedy (one which he has himself chosen by eloping) is that the only way for him to keep what he sees yonder is to earn money; while earning it, he loses her.

For the Duke is struck by her beauty; she is (as the bawd's accomplice, Guardiano, then tells us)

A creature
Able to draw a state from serious business,
And make it their best piece to do her service.

(II. ii. 17-19)

Here the double meaning of *business* is emphasized by *do her service*—a phrase to return to. Livia's role in the seduction means that she must first persuade the Mother to bring Bianca to the house. Livia has full scope for her innuendoes; and so when she wheedles the Mother into admitting that she has left a gentlewoman at home, and sending for her, it is not surprising that Livia should play cruelly with *business*, and with Leantio's absence. With dazzling hypocrisy she complains that the Mother is such an unfriendly neighbour:

I sit here
Sometime whole days together without company,
When business draws this gentleman [Guardiano] from home.

(II. ii. 149-51)

¹ References are to A. H. Bullen's *Works of Middleton*, vol. vi (London, 1885).

But surely, she asks, the Mother has nothing to do at home?

You've great business, sure
To sit alone at home . . .
What business can you have, if you be sure
You've lock'd the doors?

(II. ii. 185-6, 197-8)

Therefore when Bianca appears, Livia enjoys comparing the game of chess (with which she will occupy the Mother) with the seduction that awaits Bianca: she brings out, for her own and Guardiano's pleasure, the meaning of *business* with *employ'd*, another important word that includes the same double meaning:

Look you, lady, here's our business;
Are we not well employ'd, think you?

(II. ii. 267-8)

And the irony of this is strengthened when the Duke echoes the word as he seduces Bianca:

I can command,
Think upon that; yet if thou truly knewest
The infinite pleasure my affection takes
In gentle, fair entreatings, when love's businessses
Are carried courteously 'twixt heart and heart,
You'd make more haste to please me.

(II. ii. 367-72)

When Leantio returns to his house, it is to meet a new and ruthless Bianca, and the ruthlessness is clearer if we remember that he has been away on business in order to maintain her:

No matter for a kiss, sir; let it pass;
'Tis but a toy, we'll not so much as mind it;
Let's talk of other business, and forget it.

(III. i. 150-2)

But the Duke has no intention of forgetting *his* business; and he sends a messenger to ask for the gentlewoman. Leantio does not realize to whom his business is: 'You're welcome, sir; to whom your business, pray?' And Leantio is forced to lie—there is no gentlewoman in the house:

It is the most erroneous business
That e'er your honest pains was abus'd with.

(III. i. 178, 188-9)

The Duke, though, is denounced by his brother the Cardinal, and there

is a neat echo of that early description of Bianca ('She's a creature able to draw a state from serious business') as the Cardinal approaches: 'There's serious business | Fix'd in his look' (iv. i. 182-3). But since the word encompasses the world of the play, it is also appropriate to the secondary plot. Livia dupes Isabella into becoming Hippolito's mistress by suggesting that he is not really her uncle; since Isabella's father was not really Fabricio but the Marquis of Coria:

That was he; but all the business
So carefully and so discreetly carried,
That fame receiv'd no spot by 't, not a blemish.

(II. i. 149-51)

The idiotic Ward, however, has no need of employment or even activity; his world consists solely of games, and the marriage is to become part of it. Once again the meaning of *business* is stressed, this time by the obscene innuendo in *shittlecock* (one which Isabella takes advantage of, when she later sinks to the Ward's level). The Ward asks 'What's the next business after shittlecock now?', and Guardiano replies: 'To-morrow you shall see the gentlewoman | Must be your wife' (II. ii. 84-86).

By means of such a word, Middleton is able to fuse the two forces in the play, so that his purpose is active in small details as well as in such larger effects as the death of Isabella in the shower of gold. Moreover, he does not leave *business* to do all the work. He sees the aptness, for example, of the double meaning of *employ*:¹ it too is excellently fitted to the world in which people can be bought and hired and used like things. Middleton underlines his effect by using the word four times in one scene—the game of chess. So Livia says (with fraudulent politeness) that she will welcome Bianca:

When is courtesy
In better practice than when 'tis employ'd
In entertaining strangers?

(II. ii. 225-7)

And eight lines later, Guardiano stresses the double application, when Livia reminds him of the part he has to play in the seduction:

True, I know 't, lady; and if I be out,
May the Duke banish me from all employments,
Wanton or serious!

(II. ii. 235-7)

Livia enjoys her visitors' ignorance; and she points to the chess-board to draw attention sardonically to the *business* in which they are *employ'd*.

¹ 'How he employed my mother' (*King John*, 1. i. 98).

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It is the Duke who caps the word-play as he grapples with Bianca (and the mercenary context at the same time invigorates the usually empty word *spent*):

Pish, strive not, sweet;
This strength were excellent employ'd in love now,
But here 'tis spent amiss.

(II. ii. 332-4)

The important point about such word-play is that it is certainly not a concession to bawdy groundlings. It has a serious relevance to the moral analysis in the play, and Middleton creates a pattern which encourages one phrase to influence another. Words such as *work* and *labour* reinforce *employment* when they are applied to lustful intrigue or to any other manipulation of people. So Leantio finds that the Duke knows Bianca, and asks 'How comes this work about?' (III. i. 209); later he discovers that the seduction is the result of 'some close bawd's working' (III. ii. 267). But that very bawd, Livia, is talking to him at that moment, and becomes his mistress; and so, when the unwitting Leantio praises her to Bianca, the lines have a far from cheerful undertone:

A cheerful and a beauteous benefactor too,
As e'er erected the good works of love.

(IV. i. 72-73)

The good works of love which Livia had erected had hardly brought happiness to Leantio.

Livia's hopes of catching Leantio had made her decide she must work for him—with cosmetics:

I am not yet so old but he may think of me;
My own fault, I've been idle a long time;
But I'll begin the week, and paint to-morrow,
So follow my true labour day by day;
I never thriv'd so well as when I us'd it.

(III. ii. 138-42)

But once again 'true labour' is simply an instrument of lust; Livia deplores having been *idle* just as Leantio had once complained that a honeymoon was like a holiday, making 'your poor heads idle' (I. iii. 7); and Bianca learns from Isabella's sordid marriage that 'Our Florentine damsels are not brought up idly' (III. ii. 131). Even *leisure* is always contaminated by its setting; so when the Duke offers the resisting Bianca a moment's leisure, it is with a firm reminder of how to use it: 'I am not here in vain; have but the leisure | To think on that' (II. ii. 339-40). Indeed, the Duke

makes the same association in his mind when he jokes with Bianca about Isabella's fortune in marrying the Ward:

There is no doubt, Bianca, she'll find leisure
To make that good enough; he's rich and simple.

(III. ii. 208-9)

Insisting still on the same moral interconnexions is the repetition of the word *use*. This often has a sexual application in Middleton (and elsewhere), and in this play it is particularly apt. Bianca tries to defend herself against the Duke by insisting that

His weight is deadly who commits with strumpets,
After they've been abas'd, and made for use.

(II. ii. 440-1)

'Abas'd, and made for use': it is an excellent summing up of the denial of love which dehumanizes the characters. But Bianca's sense of honour is short-lived, as Livia predicts—'Are you so bitter? 'tis but want of use' (II. ii. 475). Nor is the denial of humanity which characterizes mercenary lust simply the fault of the man, since the woman sells herself even in marriage. Bianca petulantly points out that

Wives do not give away themselves to husbands
To the end to be quite cast away; they look
To be the better us'd and tender'd rather.

(III. i. 47-49)

The Duke thinks that all can be put right if he marries Bianca, but the Cardinal is firm:

Holy ceremonies
Were made for sacred uses, not for sinful . . .
Is it enough to use adulterous thefts,
And then take sanctuary in marriage?

(IV. iii. 3-4, 36-37)

With its variant of *abused* or *abuser*, the word *use* rings through the play, indicting the forces which reduce people to things.

That indictment is also made with a word which Middleton used with great brilliance in *The Changeling*. *Service* can mean both the work of those whom one pays, and the homage of the lover (the servant of Venus and of his mistress). The lover's meaning, though, can have the darker undertone of the crude sexual sense of *service* (which survives in the farm-yard). When in *The Changeling* De Flores returns (after committing murder for Beatrice) to claim her body as his reward, her moral dilemma is superbly caught in the word itself. She wanted De Flores's *service*; well

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then, she must have his *service*. The word plays a less crucial but similar part in *Women Beware Women*, where it is clearly applicable to the selling of love, the hiring of various kinds of prostitute. Livia, for instance, tries to tell her brother that an incestuous love is really so uneconomical. She brings out the aptness of her illustration with a brisk pun on *husbandry*—it's a waste (to stay in the family when there's such riches of women available), and it's a bad way of marrying; and she follows this with *servants*, which both keeps to the economic image and brings in lovers. Livia insists that Hippolito's love

Is allow'd a stranger; and where bounty
Is made the great man's honour, 'tis ill husbandry
To spare, and servants shall have small thanks for't.

(II. i. 12-14)

Miss Bradbrook¹ has pointed out how the images of gluttony are applied to lust; and Isabella thinks of her relationship with Hippolito in terms, coarsely gluttonous, which direct our attention to the implications of *service*:

She that comes once to be a housekeeper
Must not look every day to fare well, sir,
Like a young waiting-gentlewoman in service,
For she feeds commonly as her lady does,
No good bit passes her but she gets a taste on't.

(II. i. 217-21)

Guardiano knew that Bianca was

Able to draw a state from serious business,
And make it their best piece to do her service.

(II. ii. 18-19)

And when he plays the bawd, his offer to show Bianca round Livia's house is cruelly ambiguous:

All my intentions
Are servants to such mistresses . . .
If you but give acceptance to my service
You do the greatest grace and honour to me.

(II. ii. 264-5, 289-90)

Similarly, there is a crude and mercenary relationship (mistress and servant in an economic sense) behind the urbane protestations of Leantio to Livia—'[Speak] with me, lady? you shall, I'm at your service' (III. ii. 66). At least, that is how the revengeful Duke views it, when he scorns any romantic pretences in the affair, and urges Hippolito to cut it short:

Her ignorant pleasures,
Only by lust instructed, have receiv'd
Into their services an impudent boaster.

(IV. i. 149-51)

¹ *Themes*, p. 236.

Perhaps the most brilliant instance of the power which Middleton can develop in such words comes when Leantio is sneering at Bianca as they both stand in their new finery. It is a real case of *double entendre*, since the obscene innuendo does not take precedence over the straightforward battle for social prestige; they each make perfect, and perfectly separable, sense—since they coexist as manifestations of inseparable weaknesses, lust and pride. Behind the smooth retorts are the crude facts, just as behind the new clothes are the new acts of prostitution, for both of them. Leantio makes a leg, a mocking bow:

A bow i'th' ham to your greatness;
You must have now three legs I take it, must you not?

Bianca: Then I must take another, I shall want else

The service I should have; you have but two there. (iv. i. 48-51)

The urbane obscenity of that is masterly.

But by an excellent irony, the contrast to the world of work, business, and service is not one that shows a fine flowering of the spirit in its freedom from the mercenary. On the contrary: if the Duke need not worry about money or advancement, he uses this freedom simply as a means of forcing servitude on others. The only other character in the play who need take no thought for money is the wealthy Ward: his life is given to childish jokes and childish games. On the one hand, business; on the other, the vacuous pleasures of the Ward. His games fit the play not only because of their aptness for innuendo,¹ but also because sensual pleasure is itself a *game* or a *sport*. Leantio has to cut short his nuptial pleasures, since he must work to maintain Bianca; and Middleton brilliantly integrates the themes as Leantio complains at having to leave:

'Tis even a second hell to part from pleasure
When man has got a smack on't: as many holydays
Coming together makes your poor heads idle
A great while after, and are said to stick
Fast in their fingers' ends,—even so does game
In a new-married couple; for the time
It spoils all thrift, and indeed lies a-bed
T'invent all the new ways for great expenses. (i. iii. 5-12)

What is deft here is the incorporation of *game* (sexual pleasure) into the simile as the counterpart of holidays as against work. And Middleton follows this up by linking the two reasons for lying in bed, thriftless idleness and sensual pleasure (which are connected in Leantio's dilemma)—the double reference is stressed by 'indeed'. Then the effect is capped by an

¹ The obscene puns at iii. iii. 88-94 include not only the various games, but also the word *game* itself.

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acutely relevant pun on *expenses*—applied both to economy and to love (as it is in Shakespeare's description of lust as 'the expense of spirit in a waste of shame'):

It spoils all thrift, and indeed lies a-bed
T'invent all the new ways for great expenses.

But 'game in a new-married couple' turns all too soon into the sinister game of chess, where the seduction is enacted on the board. The unwitting Mother and the taunting Livia repeat the word again and again, until 'the game's even at the best now' (II. ii. 415; and the point is hammered home by lines 293, 298, 300, 303, 306, 421).

As is usual when Middleton is at his best, there is a searching interplay between character, action, imagery, and word-play. So Livia, when she seduces Leantio, offers him not only money and servants, but also

Your race-horses, or any various pleasure
Exercis'd youth delights in; but to me
Only, sir, wear your heart of constant stuff.

(III. ii. 372-4)

As the sequence of thought makes clear, all is in return for his body, his 'exercis'd youth'. In the world of *Women Beware Women*, the sports of the rich are as squalid as their employments—and both can also stand as emblems of that 'lust and forgetfulness' which envelops the characters.

One of Middleton's key-words stands slightly apart from the pattern so far traced—a pattern that links the mercenary and the lustful in words like *business*, *work*, and *service*, or in their equally sordid opposites, *games* and *sports*. In using the word *pride*, Middleton is more concerned to stress the inseparable links between social vanity and adultery. Bianca is not merely lustful; she is also fond of position, power, and luxury. Through the word *pride*, Middleton can establish that these failings go hand in hand. The sexual meaning of pride was an extremely common one;¹ and Middleton's method of insisting that the word itself can provide the initial moral analysis is to use it in contexts which at least suggest the sexual meaning. The first instance keeps the word finely balanced between the alternatives. Leantio exults in his possession of Bianca:

O fair-ey'd Florence,
Didst thou but know what a most matchless jewel
Thou now art mistress of, a pride would take thee,
Able to shoot destruction through the bloods
Of all thy youthful sons!

(I. i. 161-5)

Here the exultation is more than mere pride; it is also a boast about his

¹ See *O.E.D.* s.v., 11, where one of the instances is 'as salt as wolves in pride' (*Othello*, III. iii. 406).

sexual prowess, as is clear in the sequence *pride—bloods—youthful sons*. Middleton relies on the context (as well as on the happenings of the play) to insist on this crucial connexion between the two sins; as when Leantio sneers at 'base lust, | With all her powders, paintings, and best pride' (III. i. 92-93).

Bianca's sins are linked with the cause of all sins when the Mother confesses herself unable to understand what has come over Bianca during the petulant interval between her seduction and the return of Leantio:

Unless it be the same gave Lucifer
A tumbling cast,—that's pride.

(III. i. 125-6)

The Mother speaks truer than she knows, as *pride* insists—supported as it is by *tumbling*. (The low meaning is clear when the Ward later complains about Isabella's unchastity: 'This is she brought up so courtly, can sing, and dance!—and tumble too, methinks' (IV. ii. 106-7).)

The pressure exerted by the context is always insisting on the double guilt of Bianca's pride. The Duke, for instance, sneers at the Ward: 'I thought he would have married her by attorney, | And lain with her so too.' Bianca replies

Nay, my kind lord,
There's very seldom any found so foolish
To give away his part there.

And at once the cheated Leantio sees the torturing applicability of her words:

Bitter scoff!
Yet I must do 't! with what a cruel pride
The glory of her sin strike | by my afflictions!

(III. ii. 222-7)

In the same way, there is more than social vanity at issue when Leantio and Bianca, both in the new finery that rewards their prostitution, meet at the window; and Bianca jibes 'How now! what silkworm's this, i' the name of pride?' (IV. i. 47). Leantio is later to condemn her 'blind pride' (IV. i. 101)—in a passage which, with its references to the *monuments*, reminds us of the fatal tour of Livia's house: 'Show her the monument too, and that's a thing | Every one sees not' (II. ii. 282-3). Bianca herself admits her complicated guilt in her words as she commits suicide:

Pride, greatness, honours, beauty, youth, ambition,
You must all down together, there's no help for 't.

(V. i. 260-61)

What makes such sustained word-play really impressive is the way in

which Middleton uses it to confirm the dramatic and moral analysis which he is simultaneously enacting through the other media at his disposal—action, character, and image. We do not arrive at a different reading of the play if we examine his handling of words; instead, we arrive at an understanding of how firmly realized his purpose was—at work, too, in the smallest details of the play. (At any rate, in the first four acts; the massacre at the end is pitifully unconvincing.) But it would be misleading to give the impression that Middleton's mastery of words is entirely a matter of using the pun. Often the words are perfectly straightforward, and nothing but the skill of their use is unusual.

The nature of the match between Isabella and the Ward is brought out by consistently using the verb to *tender*; the mercenariness is clear, for example, when Guardiano says:

Let her be sent to-morrow, before noon,
And handsomely trick'd up, for 'bout that time
I mean to bring her in, and tender her to him.¹

Even so apparently insignificant a word as *gentlewoman* is turned to Middleton's purposes. The Mother had asked suspiciously when she first saw Bianca: 'What's this gentlewoman?' (I. i. 11); and Middleton insists on Bianca's social status by referring to her again and again in this way. Moreover, Isabella too is always the *gentlewoman* (that is why the Ward wants to marry her). The word comes about thirty times in the play, and each time we are reminded of the nature of the match which Bianca and Isabella make. The constant use of *gentlewoman* makes it possible for Middleton to give us the moments of disillusionment and collapse for both Bianca and Isabella with the strength of the unexpected word. The climax of the Duke's seduction of Bianca is a superb change from *gentlewoman* (and in any case she is no longer marrying *beneath* her, 'a poor, base start-up'):

And can you be so much your beauty's enemy,
To kiss away a month or two in wedlock,
And weep whole years in wants for ever after?
Come, play the wise wench, and provide for ever.

(II. ii. 384-7)

The word *wench*, with its collapse from the pinnacle, is also the degradation of Isabella, when Livia in her rage reveals how she was tricked into the intrigue with Hippolito: 'Look upon me, wench; | 'Twas I betray'd thy honour subtly to him' (IV. ii. 73-74). So that the Ward gives up all hopes, and wishes, of marrying a *gentlewoman* ('I'll never marry wife again that

¹ II. ii. 61-63. Also I. ii. 6, II. ii. 105, III. i. 49, III. ii. 101, III. iii. 4, IV. ii. 115.

has so many qualities'); and his retainer agrees: 'Well, give me a wench but with one good quality, to lie with none but her husband' (iv. ii. 107-13).

The pressure of this cruelly consistent world is such that the most ordinary phrases are invigorated. So Leantio says how much luckier than he are those men who spend their money but do not spend their care on women:

Nay, what a quietness has he 'bove mine
That wears his youth out in a strumpet's arms,
And never spends more care upon a woman
Than at the time of lust. (III. i. 286-9)

'Spends more care': the metaphorical life in the verb, dulled in the usual way, is renewed. It is a characteristically bold irony which repeats the phrase in order to stress the prostitution when Leantio himself is bought by Livia:

Couldst thou love such a one, that, blow all fortunes,
Would never see thee want?
Nay, more, maintain thee to thine enemy's envy,
And shalt not spend a care for't. (III. ii. 301-4)

The same new life is active in innumerable commonplace words like *reward*, *debt*, *pay*. In the first line of the play, Leantio's Mother greets him: 'Thy sight was never yet more precious to me.' A way of speaking—but one that should answer to truth, and does (for once) in the Mother's love for her son.

Often word-play shades into imagery. Leantio's love for Bianca is by no means mercenary, but it is stupidly imprudent; he is shown as having a coarseness of mind which is allied to complacency. That it bodes ill for the future of their love is clear from the words which come to his lips when Bianca urges him to stay ('But this one night, I prithee!'):

Alas, I'm in for twenty, if I stay,
And then for forty more! I've such luck to flesh,
I never bought a horse but he bore double. (I. iii. 49-52)

The brutality of the analogy, clearest in *flesh* and in the hidden pun on *ride*, sharpens our dissatisfaction with Leantio. And his sighing complacency rebounds on himself, since he did not buy Bianca, he stole her; and she will be bought by the Duke and so indeed *bear double*. She says to the Duke when he tries to seduce her: 'I have a husband.'

Duke: That's a single comfort;
Take a friend to him.
Bianca: That's a double mischief. (II. ii. 352-3)

250 RICKS: MIDDLETON'S *WOMEN BEWARE WOMEN*

To marshal such instances can unfortunately make the handling of words seem aridly schematic. But *Women Beware Women* has a subtle and varied pattern, and the struggle within the individual words is the struggle within the characters and within the society. Such word-play is by no means always strictly a matter of a pun. Sometimes it is that the characters tragically do not know the limitations of their words (and so of their power) whereas the dramatist does. *Tender* is such a verb, and so is *provide*—applicable to some parts of life, and mistakenly thought by Middleton's characters to be applicable to all. So Leantio promises to 'lay in provision' (I. i. 108); but the Duke can out-promise him: 'Come, play the wise wench, and provide for ever' (II. ii. 387). So Bianca in her false superiority can see that Isabella is well provided for in one way in marrying Ward—but not in another:

She's ill-bestead, unless sh' as dealt the wiselier,
And laid in more provision for her youth;
Fools will not keep in summer.

(III. ii. 116-18)

As we know, this is indeed what Isabella has done, and the Ward is merely one who 'provides all for another's table' (III. iii. 39-40). By a magnificently moral irony, the Duke promises to provide Bianca with one of the few things that are beyond his capabilities, beyond the capabilities of a word used so mercenarily; she murmurs, after Leantio has threatened her, 'I love peace, sir': and the Duke empty promises:

And so do all that love; take you no care for 't,
It shall be still provided to your hand.

(IV. i. 126-8)

It does not matter whether or not such effects are called word-play; it does matter that we should appreciate that Middleton in such lines achieves the same sort of moral analysis as Mr. Robert Frost in his crisp and desperate poem *Provide, Provide*. The important words in *Women Beware Women* are both dramatically and morally relevant. And Middleton, as Miss Bradbrook has said, 'does not rely upon explicit statement or direct speech but upon implication; nor upon a gorgeous and elaborate vocabulary, but upon a pregnant simplicity which is perhaps more difficult to achieve, and is certainly found more seldom'.¹

¹ *Themes*, p. 239.

THE LOITERER: A REFLECTION OF JANE AUSTEN'S EARLY ENVIRONMENT

By WALTON LITZ

IN 1789 Jane Austen's eldest brother James, then a Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, founded a weekly periodical entitled *The Loiterer*.¹ The first issue was ready on Saturday, 31 January 1789, and the periodical ran for sixty numbers, the last appearing on 20 March 1790. At the termination of *The Loiterer*'s brief life title-pages, lists of errata, and tables of contents were supplied to those readers who wished to preserve the work in two bound volumes.² Of *The Loiterer*'s sixty essays, twenty-seven were written by James Austen, while his younger brother Henry (then a scholar of St. John's) contributed to ten numbers. Three of the remaining issues were the work (in whole or in part) of the Rev. Benjamin Portal, a friend of the Austen family who is mentioned twice in Jane Austen's early letters.³ In view of the closeness of the Austen family and Jane's intense interest in her brothers' careers, we can assume that she was familiar with those essays in *The Loiterer* written by James and Henry; and it is likely that she knew the entire work. The publication of *The Loiterer* coincided with her first ventures into authorship, and there are numerous affinities between the periodical and her juvenilia.⁴

¹ *The Loiterer* is mentioned in both the *Memoir* and the *Life*: J. E. Austen-Leigh, *Memoir of Jane Austen*, ed. R. W. Chapman (Oxford, 1926), p. 12; R. A. and W. Austen-Leigh, *Jane Austen: Her Life and Letters* (London, 1913), pp. 47-48. These brief references (with one exception I shall discuss later) give no indication of its content, but most students of Jane Austen have been satisfied with such meagre information. To my knowledge R. W. Chapman is the only critic who has actually examined *The Loiterer*; in his Preface to the juvenilia in vol. vi of the *Oxford Illustrated Jane Austen* Dr. Chapman points out that the phrase 'love and friendship', the title of an early burlesque in *Volume the Second*, occurs in an essay contributed by Henry (No. 27). Dr. Chapman does not seem to have noticed that the original title of *Pride and Prejudice*, 'First Impressions', is a phrase used by James in No. 1 ('first impressions are seldom affected by subsequent alteration').

² The full title is: *The Loiterer, A Periodical Work, in Two Volumes. First Published at Oxford in the Years 1789 and 1790*. Although *The Loiterer* was published at Oxford most of the issues were also distributed by booksellers in London, Birmingham, Bath, and Reading. The London distributor (No. 5 onwards) was 'Messrs. EGERTONS, Whitehall', later Jane Austen's first publisher.

³ *Letters*, ed. R. W. Chapman (2nd edn. London, 1952), pp. 2 and 67 (9 Jan. 1796 and 11 June 1799).

⁴ The final number of *The Loiterer* (20 Mar. 1790) appeared less than three months before the date appended to the MS. of *Love and Friendship* (13 June 1790), and the composition of some of the juvenilia may have taken place while *The Loiterer* was still in progress.

These similarities in matter and style between Jane Austen's early works and her brothers' contributions to *The Loiterer* confirm the traditional estimate of the roles James and Henry played in shaping the taste of their precocious sister. The author of the *Memoir*, the son of James Austen, recalled that in 'after life' his father 'used to speak very slightly' of *The Loiterer*, 'which he had the better right to do, as, whatever may have been the degree of their merits, the best papers had certainly been written by himself. He was well read in English literature, had a correct taste, and wrote readily and happily, both in prose and verse. He was more than ten years older than Jane, and had, I believe, a large share in directing her reading and forming her taste.'¹ Whatever James's later opinion of *The Loiterer* may have been, there can be no doubt of his influence on Jane Austen, nor can there be any doubt that his essays in *The Loiterer* reflect his state of mind at the time when that influence was greatest. As for Henry Austen, Jane's 'favourite brother',² he was thought to be the cleverest and most promising member of the family, and his youthful contributions to *The Loiterer* (he was under twenty at the time) are close in style and spirit to his sister's juvenilia. Next to their father James and Henry exercised the greatest influence on Jane Austen's mind, and we may take *The Loiterer* as representative of their tastes and attitudes. But it is probably wisest to view *The Loiterer* not as a direct 'influence', but as a record of the ideas and opinions which prevailed in Jane Austen's early environment. Since the life of *The Loiterer* spanned several Oxford vacations, some of the numbers may have been planned and executed at Steventon; and there is always the possibility that Jane herself exerted an influence on a few of the essays, especially those written by Henry, who had only recently (1788) left Steventon for Oxford.

In the first number of *The Loiterer* James endeavours to define its purpose, and to place it in a literary tradition; in the last number (60) he reviews this purpose and the success of the periodical in accomplishing it.³ These two essays, which serve as prologue and epilogue to the two-volume collection, show *The Loiterer* to be a provincial heir of the London 'essay serials' popularized by Addison and Steele, and continued by Johnson in *The Rambler* and *The Idler*.⁴ In the first essay James is keenly and rather self-consciously aware of the periodical's form; he rehearses various ways

¹ *Memoir*, p. 12.

² *Life*, p. 48.

³ Part of the last number is devoted to the identification of the contributors (originally all the essays were anonymous, but they bore identifying initials or symbols).

⁴ In his study of the *English Literary Periodicals* (New York, 1930, p. 135) Walter Graham classes *The Loiterer* with several other provincial imitators of *The Rambler*: 'The essay type of serial, so long popular in London and Edinburgh, found many provincial imitators as the century advanced.'

in which a 'Periodical Paper' may be introduced, and confirms its purpose as the entertaining correction of moral deformities and social affectations. In the last issue he asserts that *The Loiterer's* aim was never to promote Virtue and Learning directly, but always 'through the exposure of folly and error, and the recommendation of those inferior Virtues, which, though not of the greatest value, are of more frequent currency in Society'. In retrospect he acknowledges that although *The Loiterer* was begun as a commentary on 'academical life', and the first volume (Nos. 1-30) was devoted mainly to the Oxford scene, in the second volume 'it was thought necessary, for various reasons, to enlarge the circle of our subjects, still however without losing sight of the original plan; and the whole is offered to the World, as a rough, but not entirely inaccurate Sketch of the Character, the Manners, and the Amusements of Oxford, at the close of the eighteenth Century'.

In the plan and contents of *The Loiterer* there are many parallels with Jane Austen's early fiction. The general cast of the periodical is Johnsonian, and when the prose is serious it is in direct imitation of *The Rambler*; in fact, those essays contributed by James and Henry exhibit the same pervasive debt to Johnson that we find throughout Jane Austen's novels and letters. With the exception of classical quotations, the literary references in these essays square with what we know of Jane Austen's early reading. The repeated allusions to Madame de Genlis suggest strongly that Jane was familiar with some of her works (at least those in translation) by 1790, and through Madame de Genlis she would have come in contact with the popular ideas of Rousseau.¹ In general, *The Loiterer* displays that same concern with the literature of 'sensibility' that we find in the juvenilia, and its reaction to excessive sensibility takes the form that Jane Austen found most congenial—burlesque. Almost every essay utilizes techniques of irony, parody, and mock-serious narrative, showing how common this form of criticism was in the Austen household. There is also, especially in the essays by Henry, a movement away from simple burlesque toward a more complex merging of narrative structure with ironic methods. As *The Loiterer's* career advanced both brothers became less satisfied with the humour of crude burlesque (such as James's 'Diary of a Modern Oxford Man' in No. 4, or his parody of a 'modern Gazette' in No. 2); and in the

¹ In Nos. 2 and 48 of *The Loiterer* James and Henry refer to the 'Palais de Vérité' of Madame de Genlis's *Les Veillées du Château*, and in No. 27 Henry makes extensive use of her *Adelaide and Theodore; Or Letters on Education* (translated from the French in 1783). The first reference to Madame de Genlis in Jane Austen's letters is from 1800 (*Letters*, p. 82), when we find her reading the first volume of *Les Veillées du Château*; but she may have read the work in translation much earlier (it was translated in 1785 under the title *Tales of the Castle*). Essay No. 27 displays a general familiarity with Rousseau's ideas on education, and it seems probable that these were discussed in the Austen home.

later numbers they sought to give their satire a narrative framework. This tendency in the later issues reminds one of that 'second stage' in Jane Austen's literary education 'when she was hesitating between burlesque and immature story-telling'.¹ This 'second stage' must have followed soon after the appearance of *The Loiterer*, and it is difficult to say whether the later essays by Henry and James influenced Jane Austen, or whether the development in the last volume of *The Loiterer* mirrored a general shift in the family's literary interest. In any case, Jane must have looked with a professional eye at James's tale of the fair Cecilia (Nos. 52-53) and Henry's imitation of Richardson in the letter from Clarissa M. (No. 57). It is significant that almost all the narratives in *The Loiterer* are presented in the epistolary form which dominated Jane Austen's early fiction.

Because of their connexions with the juvenilia some of *The Loiterer*'s essays deserve detailed attention. One of the leading themes in the periodical can be summed up in Jane Austen's advice to her niece Fanny Knight: 'Anything is to be preferred or endured rather than marrying without Affection.'² In No. 29 James uses his heaviest irony to attack the marriage of interest, his strategy being a mock-refutation of the opinion 'that Youth and Beauty, Good Temper and Good Sense, are the best recommendations in a Wife'; he pretends to side with those who believe 'that it is no matter how wide the tempers are separated, provided that the Estates join'. In a Swiftian passage James clinches his argument by pointing out that a marriage of affection will lead to 'increase of Population in a Country which cannot already support half its inhabitants'.

In contrast with James's frontal attack on the marriage of interest Henry's criticism is more subtle, but his letter from Clarissa M. (No. 57) makes the same point. Clarissa, the innocent daughter of a Devonshire yeoman, attracts the attention of a Mr. M., who has come down from London to recover his health and view his country estates. At first Mr. M. tries to seduce Clarissa, but failing in this he finally marries her and takes her back to London, where he is so ashamed of her *naïveté* that he conceals her in private lodgings. Mr. M. gradually becomes indifferent, and Clarissa—blaming his indifference on her lack of sophistication—sets out on a course of self-improvement; but in spite of her rapid progress Mr. M. continues to be unfaithful. At this point Clarissa meets a nephew of Mr. M.'s and falls in love with him, but they are saved from indiscretion by the nephew's self-imposed exile. Mr. M. continues in his neglect of Clarissa, and at last she returns to Devonshire where she is only occasionally visited by her husband. There she surrounds herself with former friends and broods on the sad lesson she has learned, that 'Indifference is a frail foundation for marriage'.

¹ *Life*, p. 57.

² *Letters*, p. 410 (18 Nov. 1814).

Henry's tale of the repentant Clarissa demonstrates a fair competence in the Richardsonian manner (as well as a nice talent for satirizing it), and shows how closely the Austens had studied the style and themes of Richardson's novels. Nearly thirty years later, in his 'Biographical Notice' to *Northanger Abbey* and *Persuasion*, Henry remarked that Jane Austen was early gratified by 'Richardson's power of creating, and preserving the consistency of his characters . . . whilst her taste secured her from the errors of his prolix style and tedious narrative'. Henry's tale of *Clarissa M.*, with its fast-paced narrative and direct style, suggests that he shared—and may have helped to shape—Jane Austen's attitude toward Richardson.

Another theme which runs through the essays by James and Henry, usually in association with their attacks on the marriage of interest, is a hearty dislike for the affectations of the fashionable world, especially the *beau monde* of London. In No. 27 we encounter a direct attack on unscrupulous sophistication which is reminiscent of *Lady Susan*. Henry ironically criticizes those plans of education which promote 'Health, Modesty, and Literature'. He dismisses Rousseau and Madame de Genlis because of their insistence on health and learning, and under the guise of presenting a proper scheme of education he catalogues the vices of fashionable society. The heavy-handed nature of the irony can be seen in this comment on Madame de Genlis's *Adelaide and Theodore*:

She even pays more regard to polishing the mind of Adelaide than to the keeping her teeth clean; She scarcely mentions one word about Lemon Paste, or Pearl Powder, and in her eagerness to teach her Music and Drawing, forgets the more important duties of wrenching her neck in a collar, and her feet in the *Stocks*.

Later in *The Loiterer*, as the narrative impulse becomes stronger, these criticisms are embodied in letters and tales. James's most ambitious contribution, the two-part letter from Cecilia (Nos. 52–53), draws together most of the moral themes of the periodical. Cecilia begins her letter by saying that she intends to expose the foibles of those who 'endeavour to promote the *Interest* of their Children at the expence of their Sensibility'; and to point her moral she gives a recital of her own history. The eldest daughter of a clergyman in the west of England, her sedate and happy life was interrupted when a cousin of her mother's, a woman of superior rank and wealth, came to spend the summer with them and recover her health, which had been ruined by the dissipations of London. This cousin asked Cecilia to accompany her back to town; gave her a fashionable education; and launched her in society. Cecilia had no fortune, and consequently—in spite of her beauty—she had some difficulty in securing a husband. She did receive a proposal from a childhood friend, a respectable clergyman of small means, but on the advice of her cousin he was declined. Finally

Cecilia and her cousin moved to Scarborough, where they met a middle-aged baronet from Northumberland who had come south to 'purchase' a bride. Within three weeks he and Cecilia were married and had retired to Northumberland, where he spent his days in hunting and drinking. At last, after ten years of unhappiness, Cecilia became a widow, but instead of inheriting the fortune she had expected she discovered that the entire estate was mortgaged. We last see her living with a kind sister who has made a modest but happy marriage of affection; and Cecilia's parting advice is to remember 'that though an Union of *Love* may have some misery, a Marriage of Interest *can* give no Happiness'.

One of the liveliest essays in *The Loiterer* is Henry's letter from Rusticus (No. 32), which gives a comic turn to the periodical's social criticism. Rusticus is a simple man who has spent his life in the country, and he now writes to *The Loiterer* to ask advice on the complications that have followed a recent visit to the country estate of a cousin. There he found two fashionable but ageing daughters who were intent upon snaring him. The younger and more attractive, Miss Betsy, nearly succeeded, but her plans were disrupted at the crucial moment when a sudden puff of wind carried away two luxuriant tresses from her chignon. With this shock the 'delicate thread of sentiment and affection was broken', and Rusticus escaped from his cousin's house a single man. But now he has received word that the cousin and his daughters are soon to visit *him*; what can he do? *The Loiterer* recommends flight.

In this brief satire Henry approaches the spirit and pace of the juvenilia, and when Miss Betsy asks Rusticus if he has read 'The Sorrows of Werter or the new Rousseau' we realize that Henry possessed Jane Austen's keen awareness of the relationship between social affectation and the 'cult of sensibility'.¹ Throughout *The Loiterer* we find the same measured assessment of 'sentiment' and 'sensibility' which marks Jane Austen's early fiction. Uncontrolled sentiment, and the fashionable devotion to sentimental writing, are burlesqued unmercifully. But this criticism is always reserved for *excesses* of sentiment and sensibility, and it is apparent that James and Henry shared with their sister an admiration for individual response and genuine feeling. If the style and form of *The Loiterer* stem from Dr. Johnson, the emotional tone owes something to Cowper.

In their brief reference to *The Loiterer* the authors of the *Life* single out one essay for specific comment:

By 1789 he [Henry] was not only at Oxford but was contributing to *The*

¹ Henry's bracketing of Goethe and Rousseau is a shrewd comment on contemporary sentimentalism. In his *History of the English Novel* (vol. v, London, 1934, p. 152) Ernest Baker describes how the influence of Rousseau 'coalesced' with that of *Werter* in the 1780's.

Loiterer a paper on the sentimental school of Rousseau, and considering 'how far the indulgence of the above-named sentiments affects the immediate happiness or misery of human life'.¹

On the basis of this brief description of Henry's paper (actually Nos. 47-48) Annette Hopkins has speculated that Jane Austen 'became imbued with doctrines of Rousseau about the time of the appearance of Henry's paper in *The Loiterer* and detecting in them material for satire, turned them to her own account in *Love and Freindship*'.² This may well be true, although Rousseau himself does not seem to be a major target in *Love and Freindship*; but an examination of Henry's 'paper' reveals that it has less to do with Rousseau's doctrines than would appear from the description in the *Life*. Cast in the form of a letter from an old man, Aurelius, it opens with an attack on 'that excess of sentiment and susceptibility, which the works of the great Rousseau chiefly introduced, which every subsequent Novel has since foster'd, and which the voluptuous manners of the present age but too eagerly embrace'. Aurelius continues:

I shall not here enumerate the many baneful effects which are produced by it in the morals of mankind, when under the mask of feeling and liberality are concealed the grossest allurements of sense, and the most daring attacks of Deism; but shall merely consider this one point, 'how far the indulgence of the above mentioned sentiments affects the immediate happiness or misery of human life'.

Aurelius goes on to observe that the violence of passions and affections is restrained by 'early care and proper education'. And who can deny the need for restraint?

For these very sentimentalists themselves, these worshippers of extravagant refinement must confess that the identical works whence they draw their favorite theories, exhibit the strongest proofs of their own fallacy. For though these Heroes and Heroines of sentimental memory be only imaginary characters, yet we may fairly presume, they were meant to be probable ones; and hence too we may conclude, that all who adopt their opinions will share their fate; that they will be tortured by the poignant delicacy of their own feelings, and fall the Martyrs to their own Susceptibility.

This philosophical and rather humourless introduction, with its echoes of Dr. Johnson's comments on the influence of the novel,³ might lead one to expect a full-dress debate on Rousseau's ideas and the evils of excessive sensibility. But instead Henry chooses to make his point in dramatic

¹ *Life*, p. 48.

² Annette B. Hopkins, 'Jane Austen's "Love and Freindship": A Study in Literary Relations', *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, xxiv (1925), 44.

³ *Rambler*, No. 4.

fashion, allowing Aurelius to tell the story of his Grand Tour as an example of the 'impostures of sentimental Hypocrisy'. No specific criticisms of Rousseau are put forward, and indeed at times Henry becomes so absorbed in the narrative that the original didactic purpose is forgotten. Once again we are reminded of Jane Austen's tendency to dramatize her criticisms, and to subordinate specific strictures to the general demands of the narrative.

One of James's early contributions to *The Loiterer* illuminates the attitude toward novel-reading and contemporary fiction which prevailed in the Austen household, and which forms the background to the juvenilia and *Northanger Abbey*. In essay No. 9 he considers a letter from 'Sophia Sentiment' in which *The Loiterer* is taken to task for ignoring the canons of contemporary fiction. Sophia introduces herself as 'a great reader', who has not only read 'some hundred volumes of Novels and Plays', but has 'actually got through all the entertaining papers of our most celebrated periodical writers, from the Tatler and Spectator to the Microcosm and the Olla Podrida'. She adds that she looked forward with great eagerness to the appearance of *The Loiterer*, but found it 'the stupidest work of the kind I ever saw':

Only conceive, in eight papers, not one sentimental story about love and honour, and all that.—Not one Eastern Tale full of Bashas and Hermits, Pyramids and Mosques—no, not even an allegory or dream have yet made their appearance in the *Loiterer*. . . . As for your last paper, indeed, the story was good enough, but there was no love, and no lady in it, at least no young lady; and I wonder how you could be guilty of such an omission, especially when it could have been so easily avoided. Instead of retiring to Yorkshire, he might have fled into France, and there, you know, you might have made him fall in love with a French *Paysanne*, who might have turned out to be some great person. Or you might have let him set fire to a convent, and carry off a nun, whom he might afterwards have converted, or any thing of that kind, just to have created a little bustle, and made the story more interesting. . . . let us see some nice affecting stories, relating the misfortunes of two lovers, who died suddenly, just as they were going to church. Let the lover be killed in a duel, or lost at sea, or you may make him shoot himself, just as you please; and as for his mistress, she will of course go mad; or if you will, you may kill the lady, and let the lover run mad; only remember, whatever you do, that your hero and heroine must possess a great deal of feeling, and have very pretty names.

James's reply to 'Sophia Sentiment' is an ironic rejection of 'Novels, Eastern Tales, and Dreams'. Of novels there are too many, while dreams only prove that sleep is infectious; and as for eastern tales, they are no longer novelties, and their moral messages can no longer be ignored.

For the fine ladies of the present age are much too wise to be entrapt into

virtue by such underhand means, and I should fear would turn in disgust from an Eastern Tale, when they know that a Dervise and a Mosque mean, in plain English, a Parson and a Church, two things that have been so long and so justly voted *bored*. . . .

This essay reminds us that current tastes in fiction were frequently the topic of discussion in the Austen household, and that Jane's own burlesques of Gothic conventions and 'novel slang' were the product of a critical habit of mind shared with her brothers and perhaps learned from them. Furthermore, the notion of a young lady whose attitudes toward life are shaped by her reading suggests that the Austens were familiar with Charlotte Lennox's *Female Quixote*,¹ and possibly with No. 115 of *The Rambler*, where Johnson describes the absurd influence of 'romances' on the behaviour of a young lady. The inability to distinguish between the illusions of bad art and the realities of experience is, of course, one of the major motives in the juvenilia, *Northanger Abbey*, and *Sense and Sensibility*.

I have saved until last that issue of *The Loiterer* which sheds the most light on Jane Austen's early artistic development. In the penultimate essay (No. 59) Henry Austen and his friend Benjamin Portal take *The Loiterer's* imminent demise as an excuse for commenting on the 'occult principles of the science of composition'. First they consider the function of style:

Thanks to our elaborate predecessors, thoughts are easily collected on any subject: All that remains for us is, to disguise the expression yet preserve the substance, to introduce them however unconnected without obvious abruptness, and join them however little related without obvious incongruity. To this end it will be necessary to polish the style till the flaws in the interior of the piece are lost in the lustre of the surface; for the radiance of ornamental expression diffuses itself over every void, and blends the motley parts into one uniform and splendid whole.

The authors of the essay continue by demanding 'that the sentence should principally be constructed of such words as boast Greek or Latin genealogy: however trivial this may seem to superficial judges, I venture to pronounce it a rule which admits not a single exception'.

For instance, *Ardour* should be preferred to *Heat*—*tardy* to *slow*—*sinuous* to *winding*: I should have little hope of an author who should write, 'the country lying round,' when he might so classically phrase it, 'the country circumjacent.' A great master of language of my acquaintance invariably uses 'Fortitude' to the exclusion of 'Magnanimity,' as being nearer the latin by one letter.

But a 'classical' vocabulary is not the only requisite for style. Attention must be given to the structure of the sentence.

¹ See *Letters*, p. 173 (7 Jan. 1807), where Jane Austen indicates that she read the *Female Quixote* at an early age.

The cavalcade of sentences is most striking, when a row of Nouns is drawn up in the front and rear; and the period moves with a pretty ambling pace, when it's several Substantives are mounted on stately Adjectives. Hence my readers will easily conclude that they must never compress an idea into one word which may be diffused through two. . . . A band of proper names enters with great dignity into a sentence; and there are enough ready to enlist in any cause. In the selection of them regard should be principally had to Alliteration; and here Antithesis may be studied with great effect. . . . Among many [epithets], I cannot but point out to my readers, 'the Judicious Blackstone,' as the most happy resolution of plain Judge Blackstone which human ingenuity could invent.

To please the ear, therefore, is the last and grand effort of a highly finished Style. To this end no labour must be considered too great, no attention too minute. The easiest way perhaps of attaining such an excellence will be to note down the most admired sentences of Addison, Junius, and Blair; to calculate the words in each member; the proportion of vowels to consonants; the balance of long and short syllables;—till your ear be so attuned to one particular measure, that your ideas may be spontaneously absorbed into the same revolving eddy of recursive harmony. Wherever there is any danger of sinking beneath the weight of your subject; your language should be proportionably swoln, and sublime; a full band is a wonderful support to a weak voice.

Having thus defined the proper style, the authors of the essay turn to 'the conduct of a Piece'. Here they state the general rule of composition that 'the more obvious these truths are, the better', and insist that every obvious truth should be supported by 'Mythological allusions' and 'Authorities'. But beyond this, they maintain that the skilful writer leaves nothing to his readers' imaginations:

When he presents any image with which he wishes to depress his reader, he previously gives him his cue, by phrases similar to these: 'It is melancholy to reflect;' 'It is a painful and humiliating consideration.'—When on the contrary he wishes to elevate him; he begins, something in this manner—'We gaze with sensible delight on this bright and amiable picture;' 'From this gloomy catalogue we turn with eagerness to a more pleasing retrospect.'

This satiric essay may be viewed as a compendium of all those affectations in style and subject which were the targets of criticism in the Austen household; it is certainly a catalogue of the stock devices and shopworn phrases burlesqued in the juvenilia. Late in her life, in a letter criticizing the fiction of her niece Anna, Jane Austen voiced her distrust of lifeless conventions and 'novel slang':

Devereux Forester's being ruined by his Vanity is extremely good; but I wish you would not let him plunge into a 'vortex of Dissipation.' I do not object to

the Thing, but I cannot bear the expression;—it is such thorough novel slang—and so old, that I dare say Adam met with it in the first novel he opened.¹

Behind the ironic 'Rules for *Prose Composition*' in No. 59 of *The Loiterer* lies that clear sense of proper style—based on a perceptive critique of contemporary fiction—which was to govern Jane Austen's own composition.

Implicit throughout this article has been the assumption that *The Loiterer* is interesting only in so far as it helps to clarify the nature of Jane Austen's early environment and artistic development. This assumption is not entirely just. For an undergraduate periodical *The Loiterer* is a competent production, and in spite of James's reaction against it in later life we may take the claims of the final essay as a fair estimate of the work's intrinsic value; *The Loiterer* does indeed give a 'not entirely inaccurate Sketch of the Character, the Manners, and the Amusements of Oxford, at the close of the eighteenth Century'. Both brothers possessed some of Jane Austen's talent for imaginative creation, and a few of the epistolary tales compare favourably with her juvenilia. But for all its intrinsic qualities, *The Loiterer* would merit only a footnote in the history of eighteenth-century periodicals if it did not reflect the tastes of the Austen family at the time of Jane Austen's first literary experiments, thereby illuminating the complex relationship between her experience and her art.

¹ *Letters*, p. 404 (28 Sept. 1814).

PICTORIAL IMAGERY IN THE NOVELS OF THOMAS HARDY

By ALASTAIR SMART

THOMAS HARDY must be inseparably linked in our minds with his town Wessex; and if we carry away from the Wessex Novels a dominant impression of that country it is likely to be the impression of a dark and forbidding landscape such as the landscape of Egdon Heath. The famous description of Egdon in the opening chapter of *The Return of the Native* is indeed a central text for anyone who would understand Hardy's mind and his vision of the world. Much the same brooding darkness provides the setting of his best-known lyric, 'The Darkling Thrush', composed on the brink of the new century; and it is in fact possible to trace the stark imagery of this poem in several earlier passages of prose. In such passages we discover what we may think of as the typically Hardy-esque landscape—ominous, desolate, and essentially inimical to man. Dwarfed by the vast wastes surrounding him, man is presented as an insignificant creature pathetically uncertain of his existence and of his fate; again and again the frailty of his estate is likened to the helplessness of birds, a comparison which emphasizes the littleness of man, placed in the limitless spaces of the grim landscape of which Egdon is the epitome, and which Hardy describes in *The Return of the Native* as 'a place which had slipped out of its century generations ago to intrude as an uncouth object into this', just as in 'The Darkling Thrush'

The land's sharp features seemed to be
The Century's corpse outleant.

This Hardy-esque landscape may perhaps call to mind the landscapes of Ruisdael and Rembrandt, and there can be no doubt that its development in Hardy's hands was intimately bound up with his views on the art of landscape-painting. Hardy, indeed, had the eye of a painter; drawing the outlines of his forms as consciously as he filled them with substance and with colour; giving them their proper texture and lighting; fixing them firmly in a definite space; and relating them in scale to their surroundings.

Hardy's understanding of nature was formed in the years of his boyhood in Dorset; but when as a young man he went to London he came under a second influence scarcely less potent—that of art. The full extent of his saturation in European art has never, I think, been recognized; but it is an essential key to the proper understanding of Hardy as a writer and

craftsman. The number of his references to art, in his journals and in his novels, is quite unusually large, and reflects a long and profound study which was most intense in his early days in London, when he made frequent visits to the South Kensington Museum (now the Victoria and Albert Museum) and the National Gallery, where several of the pictures to which he alludes are to be found. Other references are to pictures he was later to see abroad or at exhibitions in London, such as those of the Royal Academy and the Royal Society of British Artists. It is questionable whether any other English novelist, with the possible exception of George Moore, possessed so intimate a knowledge of the visual arts: certainly no other writer of fiction has ever used such knowledge with equal skill or imagination. The influence, for example, of Hogarth upon Fielding, or of Guercino upon Stendhal, was a far more superficial and limited thing than the profound and far-reaching effect exerted by the whole heritage of European art upon Hardy's thought and sensibility. The extraordinary number of pictorial allusions in the Wessex Novels are more than merely decorative embellishments; and that Hardy saw a close correspondence between his own art as a novelist and the art of painting he himself suggested, at the outset of his career, by his choice of 'A Rural Painting of the Dutch School' as the subtitle of *Under the Greenwood Tree*. It is not therefore surprising to find him in his *Journal* comparing his own work with that of the painters whom he particularly admired. Thus he writes in 1886: 'My art is to intensify the expression of things, as is done by Crivelli, Bellini, etc., so that the heart and inner meaning is made vividly visible.'¹

As he reflected upon the visual arts, especially painting,² Hardy came to find in them unexpected resources which excited his imagination and stimulated his descriptive powers. He was not only deeply versed in the art of the past but on friendly terms with many of the painters of his own time, such as Millais and Alma-Tadema, and he took a keen interest in contemporary developments in painting in this country and in France. He had himself, moreover, a natural, if minor, talent for drawing, and

¹ F. E. Hardy, *The Life of Thomas Hardy* (London, 1933), i. 231-2.

² It is outside the scope of this essay to discuss the uses to which Hardy put his extensive knowledge of architecture, acquired at the time of his apprenticeship to an architect; but it may be mentioned here that although Hardy generally employs this knowledge in order to make his frequently minute descriptions of buildings or interiors as precise as possible, on occasion—as in *A Laodicean* and *Jude*—architectural style becomes the symbol of an attitude: Stancy Castle stands for a past way of life without meaning for the modern age; Jude's admiration of the Gothic and Sue's preference for the Classical are symbolic of traditional Christian and sceptical humanist beliefs respectively. I have not discussed, either, the many allusions in the Wessex Novels to the art of sculpture. Even the examples of pictorial allusion quoted in this essay are no more than selections from a mass of such references.

when *Wessex Poems* appeared in 1898 many of his readers were surprised to find that it was embellished with drawings by the author, drawings which show an exquisite taste and a lovely sensitivity to grace of line, and reveal something of the contemporary taste for oriental art (even the shape of the monogram with which he signed them suggesting a Chinese character). One of the special charms of these drawings is their light and delicate treatment of essentially melancholy themes, such as the passing of life and the passing of time. There is a pleasing wit in this, which makes us smile; and we may be reminded of many of the subplots of the Wessex Novels, where much the same qualities appear; but above all they recall those innumerable descriptive passages in which Hardy reveals his unique sensitivity to shape and especially to outline. A representative example is the almost painterly description of the procession by night of the Mellstock choir in the opening pages of *Under the Greenwood Tree*, where the forms of the trees, the copse-wood, the lane with its ditches, and of Dick Dewey himself ('his profile appearing on the light background like the portrait of a gentleman in black cardboard') are precisely drawn, the whole passage culminating in an image which is undisguisedly pictorial:

Shuffling, halting, irregular footsteps of various kinds were now heard coming up the hill, and presently there emerged from the shade severally five men of different ages and gaits, all of them working villagers of the parish of Mellstock. They, too, had lost their rotundity with the daylight, and advanced against the sky in flat outlines, which suggested some processional design on Greek or Etruscan pottery.

It was the highly developed visual sensitivity which is so clearly reflected in the illustrations to *Wessex Poems* that drew Hardy to the study of art; and it would seem that when he sat down to write, and to visualize a scene, he would frequently find a picture that he knew well appearing before his mind's eye, quite spontaneously, as though he could not help it.

Hardy was able to put his extensive knowledge of art to several uses. Most frequently he mentions a work of art in order to make a description precise, especially when he wishes to convey the exact appearance of one of his characters at some significant moment, as, for example, in the description, in *Desperate Remedies*, of Cytherea's expression as she leaves Miss Aldclyffe's presence:

And she had in turning looked over her shoulder at the other lady with a faint accent of reproach in her face. Those who remember Greuze's 'Head of a Girl' have an idea of Cytherea's look askance at the turning.¹

Hardy is presumably referring to the well-known picture in the National Gallery which was acquired as a Greuze some fifteen years before Hardy

¹ Chapter IV, 2.

came to London, but which has since been reattributed to one of Greuze's followers.¹ Actually almost any picture of this type by Greuze or his school might have served Hardy's purpose equally well: what Hardy wanted to suggest was the sweet and somewhat arch expression which Greuze evidently believed to be the indelible expression of girlhood. A reader who knows anything of Greuze's work will at once receive a most precise impression. Or, again, we find in *The Woodlanders* this description of the interesting Mrs. Charmond, who is entertaining Grace Melbury to tea:

'Will you pour it out, please? Do,' she said, leaning back in her chair, and placing her hand above her forehead, while her almond eyes—those long eyes so common to the angelic legions of early Italian art—became longer, and her voice more languishing.²

The style, even the school and the period chosen, seem perfectly to suit Mrs. Charmond's character, just as in *The Mayor of Casterbridge* the more voluptuous Lucetta Templeman is associated with a picture by Titian, possibly the 'Rape of Europa' now at Boston, or the 'Bacchanal' in the Prado, or even Giorgione's Dresden 'Venus' which Titian completed, all of which contain figures which could answer to Hardy's description, at any rate if their *déshabillé* be passed over:

Miss Templeman deposited herself on the sofa in her former flexuous position, and throwing her arm above her brow—somewhat in the pose of a well-known conception of Titian's—talked up at Elizabeth-Jane invertedly across her forehead and arm;³

a position which Miss Templeman consciously assumes again a few pages later, when she is expecting Henchard to call upon her, until, 'forgetting her curve (for Nature was too strong for Art as yet)', she jumps up and hides behind one of the window-curtains in sudden timidity.

Especially skilful is the evocation of the appearance of Miss de Stancy in *A Laodicean*—a quiet, refined, and modestly romantic young lady, whose face, we are told, revealed

a tender affectionateness which might almost be called yearning; such as is often seen in the women of Correggio when they are painted in profile.⁴

Correggio is mentioned several times in the Wessex Novels. In *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, Elizabeth-Jane watches Nurfance dancing, 'her eyes beaming with a longing lingering light, as if Nature had been advised by

¹ National Gallery, No. 206.

² Chapter VIII.

³ Chapter XXII.

⁴ Book I, Chapter III.

Correggio in their creation'.¹ For Hardy, then, Correggio is the artist of yearning, as, indeed, he himself tells us in *A Pair of Blue Eyes* in the passage describing the appearance of Elfride Swancourt, where he extends his method and sees his heroine through the eyes of three painters, Raphael, Rubens, and Correggio, in turn:

Elfride had as her own the thoughtfulness which appears in the Madonna della Sedia, without its rapture: the warmth and spirit of the type of woman's feature most common to the beauties—mortal and immortal—of Rubens, without their insistent fleshiness. The characteristic expression of the female faces of Correggio—that of the yearning human thoughts that lie too deep for tears—was hers sometimes, but seldom under ordinary conditions.²

This is the most elaborate of all Hardy's experiments in what might be called pictorial definition. It will be observed that in all the examples that I have given he seizes upon some quality that is peculiarly characteristic of the artist in question, so that the reader at once receives an impression of a general facial type before being invited to consider its particular manifestation. With quite subsidiary characters, however, a mere impression is sufficient, and no qualifications are added: thus the woman who opens the lodge gate at Endelstow, in *A Pair of Blue Eyes*, is simply described as having 'a double chin and thick neck, like the Queen Anne portrait by Dahl'³—and although the incident has no importance in the story there is point in the choice of a painter who seems to have had no qualms about stressing the plainness and stodginess of his sitters.

Even the nationality of the artist alluded to contributes to our impression of the character whom Hardy is presenting. If Cytherea Graye could have been painted by Greuze, or Lucetta Templeman by Titian, Liddy Smallbury, Bathsheba's servant in *Far From the Madding Crowd*, suggests rather the healthy, well-scrubbed girls of Dutch art:

The beauty her features might have lacked in form was amply made up for by perfection of hue, which at this winter-time was the softened ruddiness on a surface of high rotundity that we meet with in a Terburg or a Gerard Douw;⁴ while Sue Bridehead, with her dark beauty, conjures up in Jude's mind a recollection of 'the girls he had seen in engravings from paintings of the Spanish School'.⁵

An effective use of this device of pictorial allusion to suggest the attitude of a character at a particular moment is to be found in the glimpse of Mr. Penny at work at his trade, in *Under the Greenwood Tree*. Mr. Penny is a shoemaker, and his house looks on to the main road, 'Mr. Penny himself being invariably seen working inside like a framed portrait of a shoemaker

¹ Chapter XVI.

² Chapter I.

³ Chapter V.

⁴ Chapter IX.

⁵ Part III, Chapter I.

by some modern Moroni'.¹ Although this is not a reference to an actual picture by Moroni (and no painting of a shoemaker by Moroni exists), the effect is still precise, for we know what such a picture by a nineteenth-century Moroni would look like. Moroni, we know, specialized in single portraits in which he emphasized his sitter's trade or calling, as in the 'Portrait of a Tailor' in the National Gallery, which was probably the picture by which Hardy knew him best; and it was clearly Moroni's practice of putting a frame, as it were, around a single figure, and of isolating him in the context of his daily work, that Hardy found interesting.

Many of the artists who fascinated Hardy were not particularly fashionable in his own day; and the names of some of them would have been known to a mere handful of his readers. A curious example of his tastes is provided by his two allusions, first in *The Return of the Native*, and then in *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*, to Sallaert and Van Alsloot, artists in whom only recently much interest has been taken, and then mainly by specialists. Both worked in Brussels in the early years of the seventeenth century, devoting themselves chiefly to a class of processional scene crowded with tiny figures. Among the best known of these are the two pictures by Van Alsloot in the Victoria and Albert Museum² representing the annual procession in Brussels known as the Ommeganck, which was held under the patronage of the church of Notre Dame de Sablon, a church founded by the Guild of Crossbowmen. The object of the procession was to commemorate the translation to this church, from Antwerp, of a miraculous image of the Virgin, and it was preceded by the ceremony of the Shooting of the Popinjay (a wooden representation of a parrot fixed to the top of a steeple). Van Alsloot's pictures record the Ommeganck of 1615, when the Infanta Isabella, the consort of the Archduke Albert, had succeeded in shooting the popinjay at the first attempt. The Ommeganck was an extremely colourful affair, dominated as it was by the triumphal cars carrying elaborate enactments of *tableaux* of such scenes as the Nativity and St. George's fight with the Dragon. And dotted all over Van Alsloot's representations of it are the quaint little figures that seem above all else to have caught Hardy's fancy. Hardy first alludes to them in *The Return of the Native*:

What was the great world to Mrs. Yeobright? A multitude whose tendencies could be perceived, though not its essences. Communities were seen by her as from a distance; she saw them as we see the throngs which cover the canvases of Sallaert, Van Alsloot, and others of that school—vast masses of beings, jostling, zigzagging, and processioning in definite directions, but whose features are indistinguishable by the very comprehensiveness of the view.³

¹ Part II, Chapter II.

² Cf. J. Laver, *Isabella's Triumph* (London, 1947).

³ Book III, Chapter III.

In *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*, published thirteen years later, it is a large herd of cows that brings these processional pictures before Hardy's eyes:

The green lea was speckled as thickly with them as a canvas by Van Alsloot or Sallaert with burghers. The ripe hue of the red and dun kine absorbed the evening sunlight, which the white-coated animals returned to the eye in rays almost as dazzling.¹

It may be added that this passage has a further interest, for it suggests that Hardy was aware of the colour-theories of men like Rood and Chevreul, which were to have some influence on Impressionism. We may compare a similar but much earlier observation upon the nature of colour in *Far From the Madding Crowd* (published in 1873): 'We learn that it is not the rays which bodies absorb, but those which they reject, that give them the colours they are known by.'²

If Hardy could scarcely have assumed in the generality of his readers any knowledge of Sallaert or Van Alsloot, he could presumably have counted upon a much wider familiarity with the white horses which almost invariably appear in the landscapes of Wouwermans, always a popular artist in England, and which are alluded to in the scene in *The Woodlanders* where Grace Melbury watches her husband, Fitzpiers, who is being unfaithful to her, riding away on a white horse named Darling to his assignation with Mrs. Charmond:

He kept along the edge of this high, uninclosed country, and the sky behind him being deep violet she could still see white Darling in relief upon it—a mere speck now—a Wouwermans eccentricity reduced to microscopic dimensions. Upon this high ground he gradually disappeared.³

Equally effective is the description, in the same novel, of a freshly pressed tablecloth—'reticulated with folds as in Flemish Last Suppers'⁴—or of the clear outlines of figures thrown into relief by the light of a bonfire, in *The Return of the Native*:

The brilliant lights and sooty shades which struggled upon the skin and clothes of the persons standing round caused their lineaments and general contours to be drawn with Dureresque vigour and dash.⁵

And, if poets and novelists have strained themselves to say something original about the moon, only Hardy could have likened it, as he does in *Tess*, to 'the outworn gold-leaf halo of some worm-eaten Tuscan saint'.⁶

As Hardy develops as a writer it is interesting to observe the growing maturation of this device of pictorial allusion, which in his hands becomes a unique skill. In the later novels he is able to employ it in ways that go

¹ Chapter xvi.

² Chapter x.

³ Chapter xxii.

⁴ Book I, Chapter iii.

⁵ Chapter xxviii.

⁶ Chapter xiv.

far beyond a purely descriptive intention. Towards the end of *Tess*, he wishes to suggest the psychological change which had been brought about in Angel Clare by his wife's confession, and he puts it thus:

The picture of life had changed for him. Before this time he had known it but speculatively; now he thought he knew it as a practical man; though perhaps he did not, even yet. Nevertheless humanity stood before him no longer in the pensive sweetness of Italian art, but in the staring and ghastly attitudes of a Wiertz Museum, and with the leer of a study by Van Beers.¹

Although the Poe-like horrors of Wiertz are still remembered and have won a small place in the history of Romanticism, Van Beers, who seems to have deliberately invited comparison with him, has now been completely forgotten. In Hardy's day, however, he enjoyed something of a *succès de scandale* with periodic exhibitions in Bond Street. One of these, held in November 1886, was condemned by a critic writing in *The Magazine of Art* as appealing 'to a class of sensations which have but little to do with those which art . . . should aim at evoking'. Even 'as a purveyor of horrors' the artist was unsuccessful, for he entirely lacked 'the vastness of conception, the measure of sincerity which gave to the art—if we must so designate it—of a Wiertz, resulting, as it did, from the real hallucinations of a diseased brain, a certain interest and a *raison d'être*'.

Towards the end of *Tess*, Clare returns at length from his wanderings, and we are given a striking picture of the outward change in him which has accompanied the inner:

You could see the skeleton behind the man, and almost the ghost behind the skeleton. He matched Crivelli's dead *Christus*. His sunken eye-pits were of morbid hue, and the light in his eyes had waned. The angular hollows and lines of his aged ancestors had succeeded to their reign in his face twenty years before their time.²

The painting to which Hardy refers is in the National Gallery. Here Hardy's imagination is stimulated to enlarge upon the allusion and to paint a word-picture of great power. Crivelli was one of his favourite painters, and it is easy to see why the severity of Crivelli's types—the farthest remove, as they are, from the pretty—particularly appealed to him.

As Hardy masters this technique he employs it more and more for dramatic effect. *Tess* again provides a fine example, in that melancholy scene at the end of the book when Angel Clare and 'Liza-Lu walk slowly up to the summit of the West Hill above Wintoncester to watch for the prison flag which will tell them that Tess's execution has been carried out: "They moved on hand in hand, and never spoke a word, the drooping of

¹ Chapter XXXIX.

² Chapter LIII.

their heads being that of Giotto's "Two Apostles".¹ The picture to which Hardy here refers is a fragment of a fresco purchased for the National Gallery in 1856.² It comes from a large decoration in the Carmine in Florence which was at that time believed to be by Giotto but which has since been reattributed to Spinello Aretino. The two heads originally formed part of a 'Burial of St. John the Baptist'. Even more touching, perhaps, is the long, beautiful description, earlier in the same novel, of the labours of Tess and Marian in the fields, where again the image of two bowed heads is evoked by a simple and telling pictorial allusion: 'The pensive character which the curtained hood lent to their bent heads would have reminded the observer of some early Italian conception of the two Marys.'³

There is one instance, in *Jude the Obscure*, where the reference to a picture is so oblique that its significance must have been lost upon almost every reader. Towards the end of the novel, Arabella returns to the broken Jude and seeks to regain his affection: 'Finding that her shorn Samson was asleep she entered to the bedside and stood regarding him.'⁴ The intended irony here will be apparent only if we refer back to the previous allusions to Samson, at the beginning of the story. These are found to be references to a picture of Samson and Delilah, perhaps an old print. Jude is taking Arabella out for the first time:

They sat and looked round the room, and at the picture of Samson and Delilah which hung on the wall, and at the circular beer-stains on the table, and at the spittoons under-foot filled with sawdust. The whole aspect of the scene had that depressing effect on Jude which few places can produce like a tap-room on a Sunday evening when the setting sun is slanting in, and no liquor is going, and the unfortunate wayfarer finds himself with no other haven of rest.⁵

The haven which Jude does find is Arabella, and from that moment he is lost. Later, after his forced marriage with her, he revisits the inn; and 'the sight of the picture of Samson and Delilah on the wall caused him to recognize the place as that he had visited with Arabella on that first Sunday evening of their courtship'.⁶ That evening he finds Arabella's note: 'Have gone to my friends. Shall not return.' But she does return at the very end, to desert him again when he is dying—a Samson indeed, shorn of all he had hoped for from life. It may be added to this, that if Arabella is likened by implication to Delilah, it is appropriate that at a critical stage in the drama Sue Bridehead should be compared to a figure in the Parthenon frieze.⁷

¹ Chapter LIX.

² National Gallery, No. 276.

³ Chapter XLIII.

⁴ Part VI, Chapter VII.

⁵ Part I, Chapter VII.

⁶ Part I, Chapter XI.

⁷ Part III, Chapter III.

So vivid are Hardy's evocations of the scenes which he is describing that one is tempted to suspect some recollection of a picture even where no painting or painter is mentioned. This impression is often reinforced by his emphatic use of terms like *highlight*, *foreshortening*, *middle distance*, *plane*, and *outline*, and by the precision and subtlety of his notations of colour. I remember, for instance, while reading the terrible account in *The Return of the Native* of the death by drowning of Wildeve and Eustacia and of the Lazarus-like appearance of Yeobright after he has barely survived an attempt at their rescue, being at once reminded of the famous picture by Sebastiano del Piombo in the National Gallery: '... starting round they beheld by the dim light a thin, pallid, almost spectral form, wrapped in a blanket, and looking like Lazarus coming from the tomb'.¹ That Hardy did actually have this picture in mind (and it is, after all, the representation of this subject that is probably most familiar to Englishmen) is suggested by the following passage in *Jude the Obscure*: 'there ... by the fireplace sat the old woman, wrapped in blankets, and turning upon them a countenance like that of Sebastiano's Lazarus'.² (The Sebastiano came into the National Gallery with the Angerstein Collection, on the foundation of the Gallery in 1824.)

One image is constantly recurring in the Wessex Novels, usually at some particularly dramatic moment—the image of a face or an object suddenly illuminated, either by a shaft of sunlight or by a lantern or candle; and frequently a person thus illuminated is glimpsed through a window. A special importance may be attached to this kind of image, because Hardy appears to employ it quite consciously to mark some definite stage in the development of his drama, holding up for our contemplation a static picture in front of which we pause before the next scene unfolds. It can be shown that the origin of this device, which is used a hundred times in the Wessex Novels if it is used once, lies in the work of Rembrandt. An obvious instance, which every reader of the novels will easily recall, is the manner in which Dick Dewey and his companions, in *Under the Greenwood Tree*, are riveted to the spot by the vision at the window of the lovely Fancy Day:

Remaining steady for an instant, the blind went upward . . . , revealing to thirty concentrated eyes a young girl framed as a picture by the window architrave, and unconsciously illuminating her countenance to a vivid brightness by a candle she held in her left hand, close to her face, her right hand being extended to the side of the window.³

We may observe how carefully the figure is posed, as though for one of those portraits at a window which we meet with frequently in Dutch painting

¹ Book V, Chapter ix.

² Part III, Chapter ix.

³ Part I, Chapter v.

of the seventeenth century, whether in Rembrandt or in a pupil such as Dou. The actual source of the image is provided by a number of passages in the Wessex Novels in which Rembrandt is mentioned; but in one of these, from *A Laodicean*, Rembrandt's name is coupled with that of Van Dyck:

George Somerset raised his eyes and hand towards the walls [of Stancy Castle], the better to point out his meaning; in so doing he saw a face in the square of darkness formed by one of the open windows, the effect being that of a high-light portrait by Vandyck or Rembrandt.¹

In *The Return of the Native*, immediately after the mumming scene, Eustacia catches sight of Clym Yeobright. It is a crucial point in the story, and we see him through her eyes:

It was . . . not with those who sat in the settle that Eustacia was concerned. A face showed itself with marked distinctness against the dark-tanned wood of the upper part. The owner, who was leaning against the settle's outer end, was Clement Yeobright, or Clym, as he was called here; she knew it could be nobody else. The spectacle constituted an area of two feet in Rembrandt's intensest manner. A strange power in the loungers' appearance lay in the fact that, though his whole figure was visible, the observer's eye was only aware of his face.²

Here Hardy is accurately describing the Rembrandtesque method of concentrating attention upon the sitter's face and, while defining the torso, of keeping all but the face in half-tone. It is doubtful whether anyone who had never studied Rembrandt with care and sympathy could have achieved quite this precision of description, or would even have particularly noticed such an effect, still less have seen its dramatic possibilities to the novelist.

Hardy was equally fascinated by the long shafts of light which slant across so many of Rembrandt's compositions (as in the 'Philosopher' in the National Gallery or the famous etching of 'The Three Trees'). In *Far From the Madding Crowd* Sergeant Troy looks through an opening in the canvas of the tent at Greenhill Fair, only to be startled by the unexpected vision of his deserted wife. His first visual impression is described for us in these words:

The interior was shadowy with a peculiar shade. The strange luminous semi-opacities of fine autumn afternoons and eves intensified into Rembrandt effects the few yellow sunbeams which came through holes and divisions in the canvas, and spirted like jets of gold-dust across the dusky blue atmosphere of haze pervading the tent, until they alighted on inner surfaces of cloth opposite, and shone like little lamps suspended there.³

¹ Book I, Chapter xv.

² Book II, Chapter vi.

³ Chapter I.

Very probably, Rembrandt's baroque lighting attracted Hardy not only on account of its inherent poetry, but also because it suggests the littleness of human experience in the midst of vast outer spaces of darkness. In *Desperate Remedies* it does, in fact, become, for Cytherea, the symbol of tragedy. Witnessing her father's fatal accident, Cytherea faints; and then—

Recollection of what had passed evolved itself an instant later and just as they entered the door—through which another and sadder burden had been carried but a few instants before—her eyes caught sight of the south-western sky, and, without heeding, saw white sunlight shining in shaft-like lines from a rift in a slaty cloud. Emotions will attach themselves to scenes that are simultaneous—however foreign in essence these scenes may be—as chemical waters will crystallize on twigs and wires. Ever after that time any mental agony brought less vividly to Cytherea's mind the scene from the Town Hall windows than sunlight streaming in shaft-like lines.¹

The Wessex Novels are scattered with variants of this image. The reader will perhaps bear with one further example of it, one that strongly suggests Rembrandt's 'Hundred Guilder Print'. This is the scene in which Tess comes upon D'Urberville in the unfamiliar role of a preacher:

The low winter sun beamed directly upon the great double-doored entrance on this side; one of the doors being open, so that the rays stretched far in over the threshing-floor to the preacher and his audience. . . . Her attention was given to the central figure, who stood upon some sacks of corn, facing the people and the door.²

It may be objected that Hardy would scarcely have risked any suggestion of a comparison between D'Urberville and Christ; but this is not at all impossible, for in *The Mayor of Casterbridge* Lucetta Templeman is explicitly compared to the Christ in a picture of the Supper at Emmaus:

They [Henchard and Farfrae] sat stiffly side by side at the darkening table, like some Tuscan painting of the two disciples supping at Emmaus. Lucetta, forming the third and haloed figure, was opposite them.³

There is, we may feel, a further affinity between the embrowned gloom of many of the descriptions of landscape in *Tess* and *Jude* and the virtually monochromatic treatment of landscape by Rembrandt. Hardy, however, never makes any explicit reference to Rembrandt as a landscape-painter. On the other hand, there can be no doubt at all that Ruisdael, Hobbema,⁴ the Impressionists, and, above all, Turner exerted in their different ways a powerful influence upon his vision of Nature; and there is scarcely

¹ Chapter 1, 3.

² Chapter XLIV.

³ Chapter XXVI.

⁴ Cf., for example, the description, in *Far From the Madding Crowd* (Chap. XLVI), of 'green, brown, and yellow leaves, now sparkling and varnished by the raindrops to the brightness of similar effects in the landscapes of Ruisdael and Hobbema'.

anything in Hardy's writing more interesting than the passages in which, passing from literature to painting and back again, he discusses man's altered view of his place in the cosmos and the consequent development, as Hardy sees it, of a new conception of beauty in both Nature and Man.

At the age of thirty-seven, shortly after the completion of *The Return of the Native*, he noted in his *Journal*:

The method of Boldini, the painter of 'The Morning Walk' in the French Gallery two or three years ago (a young lady beside an ugly blank wall on an ugly highway)—of Hobbema, in his view of a road with formal lopped trees and flat tame scenery—is that of infusing emotion into the baldest external objects either by the presence of a human figure among them, or by mark of some human connection with them.

This accords with my feeling about, say Heidelberg and Baden *versus* Scheveningen—as I wrote at the beginning of *The Return of the Native*—that the beauty of association is entirely superior to the beauty of aspect, and a beloved relative's old battered tankard to the finest Greek vase. Paradoxically put, it is to see the beauty in ugliness.¹

Hardy is here questioning an accepted ideal of beauty, especially as it is applied to landscape and landscape-painting—the convention, that is, of the Picturesque. This attitude accords with his essentially Romantic awareness of the un-pretty aspects of Nature, her cruelty and her indifference to man. If we turn to the passage in *The Return of the Native* to which he refers us, we find the thought much more clearly elucidated:

Indeed, it is a question if the exclusive reign of this orthodox beauty is not approaching its last quarter. The new Vale of Tempe may be a gaunt waste in Thule: human souls may find themselves in closer and closer harmony with external things wearing a sombreness distasteful to our race when it was young. The time seems near, if it has not actually arrived, when the chastened sublimity of a moor, a sea, or a mountain will be all of nature that is absolutely in keeping with the moods of the more thinking among mankind. And ultimately, to the commonest tourist, spots like Iceland may become what the vineyards and myrtle-gardens of South Europe are to him now; and Heidelberg and Baden be passed unheeded as he hastens from the Alps to the sand-dunes of Scheveningen.²

This, we may feel, is much to ask of the 'commonest tourist', but in the art of landscape-painting Hardy's prophecy has surely been fulfilled. One thinks of the stark forms imposed upon the English scene by Paul Nash and Mr. Graham Sutherland, to go no further. In Hardy's day, however, the painters had barely begun to explore this new 'beauty in ugliness', and to us the somewhat facile work of Boldini seems far more conventionally picturesque than it did to Hardy's nervously acute and prophetic eye, sensitive as it was to the slightest indications of a changing taste.

¹ *Life*, i. 157-8.

² Book I, Chapter 1.

When Hardy paints such a landscape in *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* he feels it necessary to contrast it with the received artistic idiom of his own time:

Of all spots on the bleached and desolate upland this was the most forlorn. It was so far removed from the charm which is sought in landscape by artists and view-lovers as to reach a new kind of beauty, a negative beauty of tragic tone.¹

The same thought recurs to him as he contemplates a picture in his own possession attributed (doubtfully, as he appears sensibly to have thought) to Bonington; and he notes in his *Journal* (January 1887): 'After looking at the landscape ascribed to Bonington in our drawing-room I feel that Nature is played out as a Beauty, but not as a Mystery.'² He goes on to say, as he says also in *Tess* and in *The Return of the Native*, that he no longer wishes to see 'scenic paintings', because he does not want to be presented with the 'original realities—as optical effects, that is. I want', he explains, 'to see the deeper reality underlying the scenic, the expression of what are sometimes called abstract imaginings'. And he goes on to confess that it is in the late work of Turner that he finds what he is looking for. 'The much-decried, mad, late-Turner rendering', he remarks, 'is now necessary to create my interest.' Hardy was in fact one of the few people of his generation who fully appreciated Turner's last pictures. Even Ruskin brought himself to accept them only with difficulty, while to the general public there were two Turners, the 'sane' Turner of the early period and the patently 'mad' Turner of the late; and it is to the popular estimation of him that Hardy is alluding by his use of this epithet. Yet it is the late Turner who interests us more deeply today.

The landscapes of Turner were, in truth, among the most potent influences upon Hardy's visual imagination. When we read, in *Tess*, 'At half-past six the sun settled down upon the levels, with the aspect of a great forge in the heavens',³ we see in our mind's eye, perhaps, Turner's 'Ulysses deriding Polyphemus'; or his 'Burial of Wilkie', a scene of vast sunset and a picture which Hardy much admired, when we read the scene of sea-burial at sunset in the Ninth Part of *A Group of Noble Dames*. Many of the descriptive passages in the Wessex Novels suggest Turner's influence, and some are remarkable for their realizations of space on a vast scale. One is the description of the snowstorm in *Far From the Madding Crowd*, where the snowflakes as they fall and the snow on the ground appear 'to unite into one mass without any intervening stratum of air at all',⁴ just as snow and water coalesce into one mass in Turner's 'Snowstorm with a Steamboat' in the National Gallery, a picture which Hardy knew well and which he mentions in an extremely interesting and revealing passage in his *Journal*. The date is 9 January 1889; Hardy has been

¹ Chapter XLV.

² *Life*, i. 242.

³ Chapter XXVIII.

⁴ Chapter XI.

visiting the Exhibition of Old Masters at the Royal Academy, which included some of Turner's watercolours: and in reflecting upon his impressions he proceeds to a brief discussion of Turner's work as a whole. He observes that Turner

first recognizes the impossibility of really reproducing on canvas all that is in a landscape; then gives for that which cannot be reproduced a something else which shall have upon the spectator an approximate effect to that of the real. He said, in his maddest and greatest days: 'What pictorial drug can I dose man with, which shall affect his eyes somewhat in the manner of this reality which I cannot carry to him?'—and set to make such strange mixtures as he was tending towards in 'Rain, Steam and Speed', 'The Burial of Wilkie', 'Agrippina landing the ashes of Germanicus', 'Approach to Venice', 'Snowstorm and a Steamboat', etc. Hence, one may say, Art is the secret of how to produce by a false thing the effect of a true.¹

Hardy's sense of his own affinity with Turner is easily understood, for both were tortured by the same Romantic Agony. In order to paint the 'Snowstorm', as we know, Turner, although already an old man, had had himself lashed to the mast of a ship; and he had remained thus for four hours, observing the effects which he was later to interpret on canvas. As he said afterwards, he did not expect to survive, but if he did, he wished others to know what the full fury of elemental Nature was like.

It is difficult to think of Hardy as a Victorian: he seems more like some gloomy Colossus bestriding the Victorian Age, with one foot in the Romantic period and the other in our own; and it comes as something of a shock to remind ourselves that Hardy was born three years after Queen Victoria ascended the throne. He was not, however, much in sympathy with his own times, least of all with what we now regard as typically Victorian art; and the most revered of the Victorians, Alma-Tadema, although a personal friend, made little impression upon him as a painter. Nevertheless, there were occasions when a contemporary picture of which he could not entirely approve as a work of art stimulated his imagination by its treatment of subject-matter, suggesting to him, or reflecting, some idea, generally of a philosophical or theological nature, with which he was preoccupied. One picture that particularly impressed him in this manner was a strikingly original variation on the theme of the Crucifixion by the French painter Leon Gérôme, exhibited, under the title 'Gérousalème: Consummatum est', first at the Paris Salon of 1868 and then two years later at the Royal Academy, where Hardy saw it. As Hardy noted in his *Journal* for 1870: 'The shadows only of the three crucified are seen. A fine conception.' The originality of Gérôme's representation of the subject

¹ *Life*, i. 283-4.

lies in the way in which the spectator is imagined as standing with his back to the Crucifixion and looking across the plain of Golgotha towards the distant city of Jerusalem, so that it is only when he has had time to recognize the significance of the three long shadows in the foreground that he becomes aware, with startled surprise, of the nature of the event that is being presented to him. It is a picture that nobody could easily forget, and Hardy recalled it many years later, in 1888, when he happened to visit the Temperance Hotel and found himself, as it seems, in somewhat fanatical company. 'The people who stay here', he wrote, 'appear to include religious enthusiasts of all sorts. They talk the old faiths with such new fervours and original aspects that such faiths seem again arresting. They open fresh views of Christianity by turning it in reverse positions, as Gérôme the painter did by painting the *shadow* of the Crucifixion instead of the Crucifixion itself as former painters had done.'¹ In his musings over the theological implications of Gérôme's painting Hardy put his finger upon a profoundly significant truth of iconography. In the ages of faith the objects of religious devotion or interest were always placed in the centre of the picture, and were clearly presented to the beholder for his prolonged contemplation. In the baroque period, however, a period marked by an intense and sometimes frenzied search for certainties that were passing away, the eye of the spectator is rarely allowed to rest, and is thrown violently from one part of the picture to another. By the nineteenth century this frenzy has passed; but it has left in its train a dejected remnant of faith which no longer says, 'He is risen: I will paint this miracle so that all may see and be glad,' but which seeks evasions, and slides away from the accepted iconographical forms: thus it came about that Dyce, the greatest religious painter of the Victorian age, instead of treating the Resurrection 'as former painters had done', preferred to show St. John leading the Virgin sadly away from a sealed and hopeless tomb. The Victorians, in fact, were less preoccupied with religious faith than with religious doubt, which could be most directly expressed by an avoidance of traditional subject-matter, as in the widely popular 'The Doubt: Can These Dry Bones Live?' At all events the faith of the Victorians, at the best of times, must needs be a faith that wrestles continually with doubt; a faith disturbed by a sense of possible disharmony between the received tradition and actual experience. The very image of Christ was now less well defined than before, and the events of the divine Life and Passion no longer presented themselves in the clear outlines in which they had hung before the eyes of a Fra Angelico or a Raphael. It is surely no accident that Gérôme's 'Géroualemme' should be less a Crucifixion than a landscape. It would seem that although Hardy was at first deeply

¹ *Life*, i. 270.

impressed by the originality of the artist's treatment of the subject he came to see that it was only a trick of realism. Certainly, for Hardy himself, there was no way of assimilating the old faiths to the pessimistic realism of his own outlook upon the cosmic landscape.

If he was equally out of sympathy with Victorian religion and Victorian academic art, Hardy was acutely sensitive to several of the new artistic developments which were taking place around him in London and Paris. He visited exhibitions constantly, both at home and abroad, and unlike most of his contemporaries came quite quickly to appreciate Whistler and the Impressionists. That even as a young man he had begun to look with interest at contemporary French painting is evident from the journals of his early visits to Paris; and the first clear reference in the Wessex Novels to such studies appears as early as 1871, in *Desperate Remedies*, published when he was thirty-one, where he writes of 'livid grey shades, like those of the modern French painters'¹—too early, this, to be an allusion to French Impressionism: it suggests, rather, Manet and Courbet. In fact we should not, perhaps, expect Hardy to mention the Impressionists before the year 1886, the year which saw the foundation in London of the New English Art Club, a society of painters who introduced the principles of the French Impressionists to the English public. We know from the journals that Hardy visited the Club's exhibitions, and it is in fact in December of the year 1886 that he first refers to the Impressionists, adding also an interesting aside on the work of Whistler:

December 7. Winter. The landscape has turned from a painting to an engraving: the birds that love worms fall back upon berries: the back parts of homesteads assume, in the general nakedness of the trees, a humiliating squalidness as to their details that has not been contemplated by their occupiers. . . .

At the Society of British Artists there is good technique in abundance; but ideas for subjects are lacking. The impressionist school is strong. It is even more suggestive in the direction of literature than in that of art. As usual it is pushed to absurdity by some. But their principle is, as I understand it, that what you carry away from a scene is the true feature to grasp; or in other words, *what appeals to your own individual eye and heart in particular* amid much that does not appeal, and which you therefore omit to record. . . .

Called on Mrs. Jeune. She was in a rich pinky-red gown and looked handsome as we sat by the firelight *en tête-à-tête*: she was, curiously enough, an example of Whistler's study in red that I had seen in the morning at the Gallery.²

The Whistler in question appears to be the portrait of Mrs. Goodwin, exhibited that year, under the title 'Study in Red', at the Royal Society of British Artists, of which Whistler had lately become President. (The picture is now in the Hunterian Museum of the University of Glasgow.)

¹ Chapter VIII, 4.

² *Life*, i. 241.

The effects of Hardy's contact with Impressionism are seen in the Wessex Novels immediately. In the following year, 1887, he published *The Woodlanders*, one of the most colourful and pictorial of all his works. In the second chapter Mr. Percumb watches Marty South through her window, as she is occupied in making thatching-spars by the fireside, and what he sees is described in these words:

In her present beholder's mind the scene formed by the girlish spar-maker composed itself into an impression-picture of extremest type, wherein the girl's hair alone, at the focus of observation, was depicted with intensity and distinctness, while her face, shoulders, hands, and figure in general, were a blurred mass of unimportant detail, lost in haze and obscurity.¹

There is a dramatic reason for this emphasis upon Marty's hair, for Mr. Percumb intends to buy it from her on behalf of Mrs. Charmond, whose own crowning glory is not, in her opinion, glorious enough. Any doubt that the earlier reference in the journal might have raised about the completeness of Hardy's understanding of Impressionism must be dispelled by this passage from *The Woodlanders*, in which so telling a use is made of one of the principal canons of Impressionist theory—that all forms lying outside the immediate focus of the gaze are inevitably blurred and indistinct, and that it is therefore legitimate for the painter, having selected his focal point, to treat them as such (not of course that this principle, which involves obvious difficulties in practice, was consistently adopted by the Impressionists as a whole). That Hardy was aware that a revolution had taken place in the art of painting is suggested by other passages in the novels from this time onward. In *Tess*, for example, he describes his heroine at one point as being 'in a dream wherein familiar objects appeared as having light and shade and position, but no particular outline'.² We certainly find after 1886 a sharpened observation of the colours of shadows (in *The Trumpet-Major*, for instance, John Loveday's shadow, cast by the sun in mid-afternoon, is carefully described as being the colour of lilac)³ and of the effects of reflected light (Grace Melbury, in *The Woodlanders*, being described in one place as 'a sylph-like and greenish-white creature, as toned by the sunlight and leafage').⁴ There are many instances in the later novels of this *rapprochement* to the Impressionist vision—a vision which we take very much for granted today, but which was considered bizarre by the majority of Hardy's contemporaries.

Hardy was as independent of popular taste in his attitudes to art as he was in other spheres. He might even be said to have come remarkably close in his thinking to modern Action Theory; for, sitting one day on the

¹ Chapter II.

³ Chapter XI.

² Chapter XXVII.

⁴ Chapter XXIV.

steps of the Lanzi in the Piazza della Signoria in Florence, and contemplating the masterpieces of Florentine sculpture around him—works by Donatello, Michelangelo, and Cellini—he jotted down this interesting observation:

In a work of art it is the accident which *charms*, not the intention; *that* we only like and admire. Instance the amber tones that pervade the folds of drapery in ancient marbles, the deadened polish of the surfaces, and the cracks and the scratches.¹

Of course, if Hardy was right, the subsequent removal of Michelangelo's 'David' from the Piazza to the Accademia, on the grounds that it was being affected by exposure to the weather, can only be regarded as an error of taste.

At all events, corrosion and wear in Nature and in the human face had for long occupied Hardy's thoughts. If Hardy looked for a new beauty of landscape, he anticipated also a new type of human beauty. He discusses this possibility more than once. The most concise and unequivocal statement of his views is given in *The Return of the Native*, in the description of Clym Yeobright:

In Clym Yeobright's face could be dimly seen the typical countenance of the future. Should there be a classic period to art hereafter, its Pheidias may produce such a face. . . . People already feel that a man who lives without disturbing a curve of feature, or setting a mark of mental concern anywhere upon himself, is too far removed from modern perceptiveness to be a modern type. Physically beautiful men—the glory of the race when it was young—are almost an anachronism now; and we may wonder whether, at some time or other, physically beautiful women may not be an anachronism likewise. The truth seems to be that a long line of disillusioning centuries has permanently displaced the Hellenic idea of life, or whatever it may be called. What the Greeks only suspected we know well; what their Aeschylus imagined our nursery children feel. . . .²

Before Hardy's eyes there hung no comforting vision, such as filled the eyes of his meliorist contemporaries. His is the vision of a world of whose darkness only the Hardyesque Apollo could seem a probable or a fitting inhabitant. But it is a darkness shot through with one infinitely various light, that endless delight in the beauty of Nature which dapples the Wessex Novels in so wide a range of colours, from the most sombre to the most brilliant. The richness and evocativeness of Hardy's imagery are to a large extent the natural fruits of exceptional powers of observation: but they also reflect, in no small measure, an equally perceptive understanding and a profound knowledge of the visual arts.

¹ *Life*, i, 251.

² Book III, Chapter 1.

NOTE

UNPUBLISHED EPIGRAMS OF SIR JOHN DAVIES

HOUSED among several other similar compilations in the Philip & A. S. W. Rosenbach Foundation Museum, Philadelphia, is an interesting manuscript collection of late-sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century English and Latin poems, presumably compiled from about 1600 to 1630. The manuscript, a paper octavo composed of 93 folios and measuring $5\frac{1}{2}$ by $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches, is catalogued as Rosenbach MS. 186.¹ In addition to poems of interest such as Essex's 'The Bee', Marlowe's 'The Passionate Shepherd', Raleigh's 'Reply' and 'The Lie', the manuscript preserves copies of forty-four of the forty-eight epigrams of Sir John Davies, probably first published in 1594 or 1595.²

Davies's epigrams appear in two series in this manuscript: the first, ff. 2^v-9^r, contains forty-two; the second, f. 22^v, contains two. The four epigrams which are omitted are 20 '*In Gerontem*', 36 '*Of Tobacco*', 47 '*Meditations of a Gull*', and 48 '*Ad Musam*'. The texts of the Rosenbach MS. offer a number of variants from the printed versions, but for the most part they are of minor importance. Of more interest is the inclusion of two short epigrams in the first series which do not appear in the early printed versions. Although the two poems (which I shall refer to as *A* and *B*) add little to the reputation of the 'English Martial' and are unsigned, it is very likely that they are Davies's work. *A* reads as follows:

f. 8^r

In valentiā

Why mervaille you that Valence hould his tounge
thinke you him wise? nay then you doe him wronge
he hath nor witt nor reason therfore muse not
if he the instrumēt of reason vse not

An almost identical text of *B* which appears in Bodleian MS. Rawlinson 212, f. 63^r, has recently been noted and published by R. F. Kennedy.³ The only significant variants of the Rawlinson text from that of the Rosenbach MS. are '*In Hīrum*' for '*In Lyrū*' in the title and '*Hirus*' for '*Lyrus*' in l. 1.

The order of the epigrams in this manuscript is so markedly different

¹ This manuscript was briefly described and some of its poems printed by S. A. Tannenbaum, 'Unfamiliar Versions of Some Elizabethan Poems', *P.M.L.A.*, xlv (1930), 809-22. I have recently edited it as my doctoral dissertation at the University of Pennsylvania.

² J. M. Nosworthy, 'The Publication of Marlowe's "Elegies" and Davies's "Epigrams"', *R.E.S.*, n.s. iv (1953), 260-1.

³ *T.L.S.*, 7 Aug. 1959, p. 459.

from that of the printed versions (1-3, 5, 4, 6, 8, 9, 11, 10, 12-14, 16, 18, 19, 21, 23, 17, 30, 29, 24, 25, 31, 26, 28, 33, 35, 37, 41-43, 39, 22, A, 44, 7, 32, B, 38, 15, 34, 40, 45, 46) as to suggest that they were quite possibly copied from a manuscript which was later revised by (or for) Davies for publication.

Although it does not appear in the printed collections, a more developed epigram, and one comparable in quality with Davies's more successful efforts in this genre, appears in this manuscript signed 'I D'. It reads:

f. 20^r*In Clayum/*

Go to the wars younge gallant Clayus goe
 thou canst endure the wars necessities
 for in thy life thou doest no weaknes shoe
 nor peevish trickes nor singularities
 thou canst eat cheese and canst behould a ratt
 and heare a dogg crash bones & neu' sweatte
 looke on a piggshead & not gape ther att
 and see the salt fall downe & neu' frett
 nor when a ducke is to the table servd
 wilt thou duck downe vnder the table dead
 nor wilt thou looke as if thou should'st be starvd
 when he that sitteth next doth take thy bread
 but like a gallant I haue seene thee eat
 egges shelles & all a candle, & a glasse
 the burrs of hartechokes & such vile meat
 web scarce a dogg will through his throat let passe
 others can kill: but thou canst eat thy foe
 goe therfore to the wars goe Clayus goe./

I D

This epigram appears also in British Museum MS. Harleian Poetry 1836, ff. 8^v-9^r, among a number of Davies's other epigrams, entitled '*In Clinias*'. The Harleian text substitutes 'Clineas' for 'Clayus' in ll. 1 and 18 and omits the signature; other significant variants are: 3. no] not 5. ratt] catt 6. crash] cracke 10. vnder] vnderneath 11. looke] rage should'st] should 12. doth take] thee takes 16. web] as will] would.¹

JAMES L. SANDERSON

¹ I am indebted to Mr. Robert Krueger of Merton College, Oxford, for providing me with a transcript of the Harleian text upon which these variants are based.

REVIEWS

The Anglo-Saxons. Studies in some Aspects of their History and Culture presented to Bruce Dickinson. Edited by PETER CLEMOES. Pp. 322. London: Bowes and Bowes, 1959. 35s. net.

It is pleasant to see due honour done to Professor Bruce Dickinson, whose wide knowledge and exact scholarship, in the words of the dedication of this book, he has always placed so unselfishly at the disposal of others. Eighteen of his friends and colleagues here offer papers on a remarkable range of subjects which eloquently testify to the breadth of his interests in the Anglo-Saxon world; some of them have implications also for the Middle English studies to which he has made many well-known contributions.

A number of the articles fall outside the primary interests of this journal and so must be passed over, though among them are some of the most authoritative in the book—such as Professor Jackson's 'Edinburgh and the Anglian Occupation of Lothian', Professor Whitelock's 'The Dealings of the Kings of England with Northumbria in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries', and Dr. H. M. Taylor's 'Some Little-Known Aspects of English Pre-Conquest Churches'. Professor Turville-Petre links English and Norse in an unusual and far-reaching account of Icelandic legends of Bede and King Arthur; and in the same field Miss Ashdown draws attention to the story in *Hemingspáttir* of the survival of Harold Godwinson, and its touching epilogue which she translates beautifully.

Of the articles dealing with Old English literature the most substantial is the editor's 35 pages on 'The Chronology of Ælfric's Works'. Dr. Clemoes uses the remarkably full surviving records to work out in detail Ælfric's execution of his 'plan to provide the means of religious education in the vernacular'. As he disarmingly admits, the catalogue does not make easy reading; but his command of the subject and the penetrating thoroughness of the treatment will make this an indispensable work of reference for all students of Ælfric.

Very different from this solid factual account is Dr. Nora Chadwick's paper on 'The Monsters and Beowulf', which sets out to show that the *Beowulf* poet was not, as has been supposed, free to select his motifs and invent his incidents, but that 'he drew his theme in its entirety from traditions of important early Scandinavian families'. Mrs. Chadwick considers early Norse monster stories—some, especially *Hrólfs Saga* and *Grettis Saga*, often considered before; others, such as *Herrauðs Saga* and *Valspáttir*, not usually thought to be relevant. She claims that these sources all embody 'more or less identical stories . . . of a hereditary feud between a heroic member of a ruling Scandinavian dynasty and a closely knit group of supernatural foes, located to the east of the Baltic', and further that these ruling families are associated with a ritual involving the conquest of certain chthonic beings (p. 193). This leads on, unexpectedly enough, to Lithuanian house-snakes. The article ends with the suggestion that if the *Beowulf* poet found his story 'already fully developed' in ancient Scandinavia, he

may well have composed his poem for an anglicized Scandinavian dynasty, perhaps the Wuffings of Sutton Hoo. Much of this is very hard to follow. Monsters and their mothers, even in some profusion, do not justify the claim that the poet 'drew his theme in its entirety' from such origins. It must be said, too, that the treatment of some of the names is exceedingly speculative. For example, on p. 195 the Slavonic goddess *Siva* is first identified with the house-snake, and her name derived from a word meaning 'living' which is given as *ziwb* but must I suppose be meant for *ziva*; and then identified with the Norse goddess *Sif*, wife of Thor. This can only mean that the Norse name is of Slavonic origin, and Thor's wife a house-snake; neither of which commends itself. One among several matters of detail that need correction is the reference on p. 174 to 'Ælfric's Glossary'. This is in fact 'Archbishop Ælfric's Vocabulary', lately discussed by Mr. C. A. Ladd in this journal.¹

Sutton Hoo and the Wuffings are discussed again by Sir Frank Stenton in 'The East Anglian Kings of the Seventh Century'. By correcting the pedigree of the royal house Sir Frank, as he says, makes it easier than before to regard the cenotaph as a memorial to Æthelhere, who was H. M. Chadwick's candidate in 1940,² but has since lost some ground in favour of Anna or Æthelwald.³ The case is carefully and persuasively made. Sir Frank does not hesitate to accept the now general belief that the cenotaph was made in honour of a king; but on this important matter Professor J. M. Wallace-Hadrill has published a very timely cautionary discussion which should not be overlooked.⁴

The three Late Old English texts published for the first time from MS. Cotton Tiberius C 1 by Mr. Ker contain much of interest, including some grammatical and lexical points: e.g. *on sumre oðre stede*, p. 273.1; *ge for libbende ge for licgende*, p. 276.22.⁵

The two articles on dialectology interestingly contradict each other. Dr. Cameron in 'An Early Mercian Boundary in Derbyshire' pursues, though no longer in political terms, the suggestion he made in *The Place-Names of Derbyshire*⁶ that a division can be detected within the county from variant forms of certain words, the most important *etc.*, *(ge)heg*, and *wælla*. The forms quoted he takes to be distinctively West Mercian, and assumes the *Vespasian Psalter* gloss to be the chief OE. representative of the West Mercian dialects. But Professor R. M. Wilson, in 'The Provenance of the Vespasian Psalter Gloss: The Linguistic Evidence', gives as one of his conclusions that 'There can be no possibility of ascribing a definite provenance to the dialect of *VPs* until the date of the gloss can be more firmly established than it is at present' (p. 309). Objections can in fact be made to both views. Dr. Cameron puts too much faith in spellings of doubtful significance. As Mr. Wilson points out, forms like *wælla* were 'fairly

¹ *R.E.S.*, n.s. xi (1960), 360-4.

² *Antiquity*, xiv, 56 ff.

³ R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, 'The Sutton Hoo Ship-Burial', *Proc. Suffolk Inst. Archaeol.*, xxv (1949), 41; C. L. Wrenn, 'Sutton Hoo and Beowulf', *Mélanges Mossé* (Paris, 1959), p. 304.

⁴ 'The graves of kings', *Studi Medievali*, 3rd ser. i (1960), 177-94.

⁵ Cf. C. T. Onions, 'Die and Live', *R.E.S.*, n.s. vii (1956), 174-6.

⁶ *E.P.N.S.* (1959), xxviii-xxix.

widespread' in OE.—'practically universally in Angl. texts' is Mr. Campbell's phrase¹—so that a ME. *wall(e)*, especially outside the main stress as it so often is in place-names, cannot be taken as firm evidence of West Mercian ancestry. It sometimes occurs far to the east.² Nor can a spelling variation between *hey* and *hay* mean much after the thirteenth century, but Dr. Cameron regards examples as late as the seventeenth as significant (p. 20). On the other hand Mr. Wilson, whose caution against over-confidence, and demonstration of the lack of convincing links between supposedly Mercian texts, are very salutary, seems to carry scepticism to excess. He admits that *VPs* is non-West Saxon, and it is not like any northern text we have. He admits that the ME. dialect that is closest to *VPs* is undoubtedly western. This rules out Kentish, and the other OE. dialects of which, as he says, we know nothing—East Anglian, Essex, Sussex. Not much is left but the West Midlands in general terms, and that seems to mean West Mercian. It is true that our wide areas of ignorance demand caution; but it is not likely that they will grow significantly less—there is little hope, surely, that the date of the *VPs* gloss can ever be firmly established, as Mr. Wilson requires before he will believe anything about it. We may accept 'Mercian' as a reasonable probability, without denying that there were other varieties of Mercian than the *VPs* type. At one point Mr. Wilson falls into the kind of trap against which he warns others: he speaks of 'the south-eastern *isern*' (p. 295). By the date of the *Lindisfarne Gospels* gloss, at any rate, *isern* was not only south-eastern, for it occurs there four times, and *iren* not at all.³

Professor Brook in 'The Relation between the Textual and the Linguistic Study of Old English' comments on the treatment of texts by editors. One of his examples is *wundini* at *Beowulf* l. 1382, of which he says (p. 289): 'The *d* has been lost . . . but an editor is not taking undue risks by supplying it, especially in view of the readings of Thorkelin . . .'. Indeed he is not. The *d* is not lost, and can be clearly seen in the E.E.T.S. facsimile of 1959; it was not visible in Zupitza's photograph, but he said it was covered, not lost, and the corroboration of Thorkelin is superfluous.

N. D.

The Foundling and the Werwolf. A Literary-Historical Study of *Guillaume de Palerne*. By CHARLES W. DUNN. Pp. vi+158 (University of Toronto Department of English 'Studies and Texts' 8). Toronto: University Press, 1960.

The sources from which the setting, plot, and style of *Guillaume de Palerne* are derived form the subject-matter of Professor Dunn's monograph. His work is thus concerned partly with folk-lore, partly with the audience for whom the romance was written and the literary conventions such an audience would accept,

¹ *Old English Grammar* (Oxford, 1959), § 193 (a).

² See, for example, the E.P.N.S. volumes for Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire (1926), p. xxiv, and Cambridgeshire (1943), p. xxxv.

³ L. Blakeley, 'Riddles 22 and 58 of the Exeter Book', *R.E.S.*, N.S. ix (1958), 251.

partly with the historical and geographical setting as an indication of place of origin. Mr. Dunn concludes that the plot is derived ultimately from a legend of the Romulus Type (a combination of the Fair Unknown and the Wolf's Fosterling), that the romance was written for the circle of Yolande of Hainaut, wife first of Yves of Nele and second of Hugh Candavene IV, and that the particular version of the legend used originated in the Norman Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, perhaps with particular reference to a single unidentified Norman ruler. Mr. Dunn establishes a number of connexions between the circle of Yolande and the Normans of Sicily.

Except incidentally, Mr. Dunn is not concerned with the English *William of Palerne*. His investigation he regards as a necessary preliminary to 'an over-all understanding of the great creative activity of the twelfth century' (p. v).

The value of the different parts of the book varies considerably. The treatment of folk-lore material in Chapters I, IV, and V is on the whole excellent (Mr. Dunn was awarded the 1960 Chicago Folklore Prize for *The Foundling and the Werewolf*). One might disagree with some of the suggestions put forward: for instance, Alexandrine's statement in 3590-7 that Melior does not wish to marry a Greek and be locked up in Constantinople is hardly an instance of 'Captivity in Tower', motif R41.2 in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*. A methodological objection is also possible. One instance will suffice. In the episode of the transformation of Alphonse into a wolf by his stepmother (261-340), Mr. Dunn lists fourteen motifs. Five, however, of one group of six need not have been included; the sole necessary reference is D113.1, *Transformation: man to wolf*. In 306 *beste* is merely a variation of *leus*: D0, D5, D100, D110 are implied by D113.1. Although the term *garous* is applied to the transformed Alphonse, *Mult devint fiers et fors et grans* (332) is almost the only indication in the poem that he became in the normal sense of the word a werwolf. Even Mr. Dunn, in despite of the title of his book, equates him finally with the Helping Animal. Thus D113.1.1, *Werwolf* is only present to a very limited degree.

These are minor points: the shortcomings in the strictly literary sections of the book are more serious. As already indicated, Mr. Dunn claims to deal with the style of the romance. He seems, however, to be unacquainted with some of the more important works relevant to his subject. Notably, Ernst Curtius's *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (tr. W. R. Trask, London, 1953) does not appear in his bibliography, yet this work is of major importance for many of the points discussed, particularly in Chapters II and III. Mr. Dunn, for instance, is not prepared to accept the poet's statement (9659) that he is translating from a Latin source; he does accept the statement in the preceding line that the poet wrote at the Countess Yolande's command. Yet the statements are equally conventional (Curtius, p. 85), and the fact that Yolande is mentioned only in the rather perfunctory passage which concludes the poem may suggest that the epilogue was written more in the hope than the certainty of patronage.

Many similar drawbacks might be listed. Mr. Dunn, in his comparison of the prologue to *Guillaume* with that to the *Lais* of Marie de France, speaks of 'the rather self-satisfied and virtuous air of the poet's opening lines in *Guillaume*' (p. 29). This failure of appreciation might have been avoided had Curtius's

Chapter V on 'Topics' (especially pp. 87-89) been consulted. Mr. Dunn, again, is inclined to think that because there is such precision of description in the various references to the royal park at Palermo, the poet must have known it, probably at first hand (cf. e.g. pp. 49-52, 85). Yet most of the details which he quotes form stock parts of the set rhetorical description of the *locus amoenus*, discussed by Curtius, pp. 195-202. This is typical of a failure to recognize set pieces as such, a failure which detracts considerably from Mr. Dunn's discussion of setting and style. The book, that is to say, is valuable as a folk-lore study; much less so as the literary investigation which Mr. Dunn had apparently planned.

JOHN MACQUEEN

The Indian Summer of English Chivalry. Studies in the Decline and Transformation of Chivalric Idealism. By A. B. FERGUSON. Pp. xviii + 242. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press; London: Cambridge University Press, 1960. 48s. net.

Professor Ferguson has attempted a very difficult task. He has tried to chart the progress of the decline of the chivalric ideal in the literature of the later Middle Ages and the sixteenth century. He has chosen to attempt this task by approaching the subject from a number of different angles. Moreover, he tells us that the studies here presented are only part of a general study of the political literature of the period which he is preparing. In his first chapter ('A Chivalric "Revival"?') he asks whether there was a recovery of chivalric literature in the second half of the fifteenth century, a 'rebirth' considerably more impressive than the 'rebirth' of classical literature then taking place. With suitable reservations Mr. Ferguson concludes that there was. The rest of the book follows from the discovery of this 'Indian Summer'. The didactic elements in chivalric literature are examined and the author shows how these were placed in a new context in the second half of the fifteenth century. He considers the relationship between Chivalry and the idea of Commonwealth, and the ways in which late medieval chivalric literature in England was often tied to the chauvinistic advocacy of a renewal of the war with France. His most suggestive chapter is, perhaps, that in which he begins to consider the part played by chivalric ideals in the education of the nobility and gentry. These ideals, he alleges, were giving place to a book learning once thought fit only for clerks.

This is a learned book. Its apparatus reveals that its author is well acquainted with the latest literature, not only on chivalry but on the historical background of the later Middle Ages. It will have its place. Yet it is very much of an ice-breaker. Where the literary materials are so scanty and the problems so hard to measure one cannot help feeling uneasy about some of Mr. Ferguson's generalizations. Is it not too nice a judgement to say 'about their status in society the English gentry seem, indeed, to have been in this period just a bit more self-conscious than usual' (p. 11)? Moreover, the chronological focus of the first essay (c. 1450-c. 1500) has to be widened for the purpose of the other studies.

This creates an impression of incoherence. Mr. Ferguson well recognizes that he must seek beyond the literature for the explanation of what he finds there. Since so much remains to be done on the social and political history of the fifteenth century his task is nearly impossible. If only Professor Jacob and Mr. McFarlane had completed their books before Mr. Ferguson wrote his! Yet, if he may easily be forgiven for going ahead without them, one could have wished that he had concentrated more on the evolution of the army, which must stand at the hub of the problem. How did Henry VII's army at Boulogne in 1492 compare with those of, say, Edward I at Caerlaverock or Edward III at the siege of Calais? Each siege had the air of a set-piece. How was the use of heraldry changing? Was England held back in her military development by the success of Henry VIII's naval policy? There is a good deal to suggest that her army was much more out of date, even in 1550, than those of the other European powers. She never had a Great Captain nor a battle of Pavia. When did the Crown recognize that knights had become Quixotes?

Though the chapter on education is the most interesting it only broaches the subject. The generalization on p. 182 needs much more testing out. ('It was still common, if not the rule, to draw a heavy line between the education for the knight and the clerk, and for the aristocracy to hold in contempt the study of the liberal arts.') It may have been, but what actually happened? How did that perfect knight, Henry the Good, Duke of Lancaster, come to write the *Livre de Sainte Medecine*? Was Robert Hungerford, later Lord Hungerford and Moleyns, a freak, when he resided at University College for three terms with Mr. John Chedworth as his tutor in 1437-8?¹ Mr. Ferguson recognizes the eroding influence of legal education in weaning away the potential knight from the tilt-yard. But a much more thorough treatment seems to be needed here. How far had the chivalric ideals been weakened by the demands and development of the central administration long before the days of Erasmus and Colet? These questions have yet to receive a conclusive answer.

J. R. L. HIGHFIELD

A Handbook of Renaissance Meteorology with Particular Reference to Elizabethan and Jacobean Literature. By S. K. HENINGER, JR. Pp. xii+270. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press; London: Cambridge University Press, 1960. 60s. net.

Mr. Heninger has a gift for clear and concise exposition and definition; in its informative aspect his Handbook is everything it should be. He provides a well-documented (and pleasingly illustrated) classified guide to all the meteorological phenomena of which the Renaissance was cognizant and to the notions about them both scientific and popular. He briefly reviews the history of meteorological theory from Aristotle to the sixteenth century and the sources through which it

¹ A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford* (Oxford, 1958), ii. 985.

reached Renaissance England; and he gives some account of meteorological writings in England up to 1625.

Mr. Heninger is particularly concerned with the literary context of his subject and so supplements his technical references with numerous illustrative quotations from sixteenth- and seventeenth-century literature. Many of the passages quoted are revealed to be richer in meaning than without meteorological knowledge we should have realized, and allusions we might have regarded as dead commonplaces or have missed altogether come alive with a new precision and range of association. (Not all Mr. Heninger's instances need the quantity of reference he gives them: such stock analogies as wind/sighs, rain/tears, snow/whiteness, thunder/guns, might be regarded as independent of both meteorology and the Renaissance.)

In the last part of his book Mr. Heninger turns to literary criticism. By examining the ways in which Spenser, Marlowe, Jonson, Chapman, Donne, and Shakespeare 'created imaginative poetry' out of meteorological lore he hopes to gain 'fresh insight into their intellectual backgrounds and stylistic techniques'; their meteorological matter, he says, provides 'controlled conditions' for a comparative critical study. This is a doubtful claim; the treatment of meteorology by these poets may, taken together with a great many other things, generally illustrate what we know already from more substantial evidence (Mr. Heninger's general premisses and conclusions are conservative to the point of cliché: Spenser is traditional, Marlowe bold, Jonson classical, Chapman complex, Donne intellectual, and Shakespeare great); in particular we can learn what use each made of meteorology. But this fact is so accidental an element in their poetry that it may be dangerously misleading if followed as a critical guide to the nature and working of their creative imaginations.

To take, for instance, Mr. Heninger's findings on Spenser. The meteorological imagery, he says, is 'disappointingly trite and unimaginative'. He lists Spenser's forty-eight references to snow and calls them 'undeniably dull and unvaried'; he quotes twenty-three passages from *The Faerie Queene* descriptive of the dawn and comments that they are all drawn to a standardized mythological formula. 'This strictly literary meteorology gives Spenser's poetry a precious hothouse atmosphere.' Eventually he passes to Marlowe, whose vigorous and novel 'presentation of dawn and nightfall makes Spenser's handling of these events seem puerile and merely pretty'.

What are we to infer besides that Spenser did not choose to be novel in referring to snow or telling the time of day? Not, surely, that Spenser is a trite, unimaginative, puerile, and merely pretty poet? Judgements based upon such incidental particulars and comparisons made without reference to 'kinds', intentions, contexts, cannot have much value. Of Ben Jonson Mr. Heninger says: 'he makes the imagery completely subservient to his immediate intention'. So does Spenser, so does Marlowe, so do they all. Mr. Heninger should have left it at that; his subject has its own interest and the first two parts of his book make this clear.

R. H. SYFRET

The Allegory of the *Faerie Queene*. By M. PAULINE PARKER. Pp. 326. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960. 35s. net.

This commentary is so precisely the sort of Spenser study which has been lacking that it has not unnaturally been well received. Why did no one before think of taking us consecutively through the whole allegory of *The Faerie Queene*, explaining in simple terms roughly what it means, and drawing attention to the principal amenities of Spenser's poetic world? Presumably because no one had the temerity to enter on a course which led through so much uncharted country, off the beaten track of previous criticism. Yet, at a time when the art of reading strict allegory has largely been lost, and when the increasing volume of specialist scholarship exceeds the capacity of the general reader, the need for interpretative commentaries is obviously a pressing one, if Spenser is still to be read even in the most rudimentary way. One's initial inclination towards Miss Parker's elected approach is thus a favourable one. It is all the more necessary, therefore, however churlish it may seem, to consider carefully just how well she has met the admitted need.

From the strictly scholarly point of view, unfortunately, she does not meet it at all. In fact, it is something of a marvel that so much of value should subsist in what must be the most inaccurate book on Spenser ever written. By inaccuracy I do not mean merely that the index is useless and the footnotes incompetent, nor that literal errors and misquotations are unusually frequent (a random sample of five quotations showed nineteen serious transcription errors, not to speak of minor errors of punctuation, and a chaotic treatment of *u/v* spellings), nor even that proper names are garbled (one finds Briareus for Antæus; Paena for Poena; Ruddymanes; Hawe; &c.). I have in mind, rather, a disquieting haziness in narration of the fable. Within this haze, the parts played by Pyrochles and Cymochles can be repeatedly confused (pp. 41, 136), or a fire invented *surrounding* the castle of Busirane (pp. 171, 183). Such vagueness, displeasing in itself, has a disastrous effect on interpretation of the allegory. For the only route to the allegory—this cannot be said too often—is through the fable in all its detail. Allegorically speaking, it really matters that it is the contentious Pyrochles, and not the concupiscent Cymochles, who adopts, with Guyon's shield, the stance of moral probity.

Neglect of detail (which is partly forced by considerations of scale) especially discourages the use of iconographical methods. This is a pity; for the conventions of Renaissance graphic art constitute perhaps the most useful single body of information present Spenserian scholarship can bring to bear. Closer iconographical analysis would, for instance, have prevented Miss Parker's false association between the serpent in Fidelia's cup and the serpents of the caduceus; and would have shown that the lion accompanying Una (a lion of retributive justice) has little kinship with those pulling Cambina's chariot (pp. 189-90).

More disappointing still, in a work of popularization, is the failure to draw on contemporary research: I can find no evidence that any recent journal article has been used. This is particularly noticeable in the handling of the historical allegory, where the early speculations of Scott and Keightley are uncritically

reported, while the work of J. W. Bennett and A. M. Buchan is entirely ignored. Here Arthur is still Leicester, Artegall still Lord Grey. Even when questions of contemporary scholarly interest are approached, no cognizance is taken of the current solutions. Thus, a rather novel and interesting interpretation of Florimell as innocence is offered, without much indication of how far it is meant to replace the more usual interpretations, beauty and civility. This artless manner has its advantage, where it permits Miss Parker to go simply to the heart of the matter, and redirect attention to the gist of Spenser's meaning. But too often the direct resort to the allegorical level is premature, leading to no more than an irrelevant moral platitude—as when Timias's unsuccessful intervention on Mirabella's behalf, and his capture by Disdain, elicits the prosaic comment: 'the usual fate of those who burst heedlessly into other people's quarrels.' Or else a formulation is arrived at so abstract and simplistic as to take leave of the ordinary world of meaning. 'Holiness names for Chastity that Justice which she had sought without knowing'; 'Chastity clearly seen is irresistible, both to Love and to Justice': what do such statements really tell us? Only that the commonest fault of the interpreter of allegory has been committed—hustling through meditation on the images, proceeding too impatiently to moral summary. And to a subtle poet like Spenser, reduction of the content into a heap of abstract formulas does a great disservice.

The Allegory of the 'Faerie Queene' is intended for those who are reading the poem for the first time. Since much of the information Miss Parker imparts is false in particulars, she might be thought an unsafe guide for unseasoned travellers. But in another sense, her directions are sound; for at her best she conveys a vivid impression of the whole terrain of Spenser's fairyland. No other study for the general reader, indeed, has given a better account of the formal qualities of the poem and of its protean variety. Undergraduates will like to see an interpreter of Spenser achieve so much simply by reading intelligently. They will enjoy, too, her pleasantly allusive style—except for its curious propensity to ungrammatical comma-links. More advanced students will find the book useful mainly in virtue of its unusually complete coverage of the text. Passages never touched before, especially the narrative episodes in the later books, are here subjected to a scrutiny which, though only fitfully penetrating, is most often sensible, and alive to the nature of Elizabethan poetic thought.

ALASTAIR FOWLER

Der dramatische Auftakt in der elisabethanischen Tragödie. By ERNST THEODOR SEHRT. Pp. 214. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1960. DM. 19.80.

As in *Vergebung und Gnade bei Shakespeare* Dr. Sehrt selects a single 'Motif' for discussion in his latest book, but this time the 'Strukturelement' leads him not so much to philosophy as to the historical realists. It is true that he disowns them as speedily as is decently possible, and one's heart rises on reading that here 'vergleichend-historische und werkimmanente Interpretation Hand in Hand gehen' (p. 6). In fact, despite his handsome acknowledgements to the realists, Dr. Sehrt comes closer to Clemen's *Tragödie vor Shakespeare* and *Richard III*, to

the new flexible and imaginative criticism, sometimes, one fears, endangering his argument as he shakes off too completely the careful dullness of the past.

From the start one feels uneasy about Dr. Sehrt's definition of his subject. Dramatic 'Aufakt' is explained as 'der unmittelbare Beginn einer Tragödie... ohne daß damit das Problem der Exposition immer in seinem ganzen Umfang zur Sprache zu kommen braucht... Es interessiert hier der erste Eindruck, den die audience in bezug auf das Drama erhielt, wenn die Vorstellung anfang. Wodurch und mit welchen Mitteln führt der Dramatiker sein Publikum in den ersten Minuten der Aufführung in das Kommende ein? Wie wurde der elisabethanische Zuschauer zuerst angesprochen...?' (p. 7). That the 'Aufakt' is later taken to be either one or two speeches or one or two scenes, on more or less arbitrary grounds, comes as no surprise after such vagueness. Indeed, we may wonder whether the 'first impression' and 'the first few minutes of a play' may properly be called a 'Strukturelement' in a sense that does not also apply to any other few minutes of a play: whether they are a critically useful unit. For who can pinpoint the end of a beginning?

While Elizabethan dramatists may not have pondered the 'Aufakt' as distinct from 'exposition' they certainly began a lot of plays; and Dr. Sehrt's comments on those he picks for analysis are often brilliant. He divides his book into three parts: 'I: Vorformen des dramatischen Auftakts vor 1600' (dumb shows, prologues, inductions); 'II: Hauptformen des dramatischen Auftakts vor 1600' (monologue, dialogue); 'III: Der dramatische Auftakt in der Shakespeareschen Tragödie'. Naturally the commentary presupposes an interpretation of each play as a whole, and here a further difficulty arises: whose interpretation? Generally speaking Dr. Sehrt subscribes to recognized authorities (Dover Wilson, M. C. Bradbrook, &c.): sometimes, however, the best authorities separate disobligingly into hostile camps—as regarding the opening of *Henry V*, the motives of Canterbury and Henry, where, quite clearly, a sharp difference about the play as a whole is involved. Instead of sweeping aside A. C. Bradley and other illustrious men not even alluded to (p. 145), Dr. Sehrt could have counted on the reader's indulgence and explored both possibilities. To this he might reply, of course, that he has enough to do as things are, for the 'Aufakt' sends him off into all parts of a play, he compares first scenes with second scenes (pp. 172 ff.), the 'pattern' of the first scene with that of the crisis (pp. 110, 160-1), he considers themes, characters, language, and every possible structural feature.

The indexes at the end are not good. Mince meat is made of every kind of name, and, far worse, the inclusion of name and page references is quite haphazard, both being only a small selection from those actually occurring.

E. A. J. HONIGMANN

The White Devil. By JOHN WEBSTER. Edited by JOHN RUSSELL BROWN. Pp. lxxiv + 206 (The Revels Plays). London: Methuen, 1960. 21s. net.

Mr. Brown has already established himself as an authority on Webster, and his edition of *The White Devil* will be warmly welcomed by all who are familiar with

his various articles on the date, the sources, and the printing of this play. All these matters are excellently dealt with in his able and lucid introduction, which also includes an original and most perceptive study of Webster's dramatic technique. He is particularly good on the fragmentariness of Webster's manner and the ironic effect of the shifting comments made by various characters upon the action which involves them. One's only question here—which Mr. Brown to some extent anticipates—is whether the irony is quite as ubiquitous, or the fragments quite as harmonious, as is suggested. Are we justified, for example, in regarding Flamineo's comment on the vice of women famed for virtue as applicable to the 'good' women of the play? (p. liii). If smugness is implied whenever a character asserts his own virtue, Webster's technique is indeed different from that of his contemporaries.

The risk of over-subtlety I seem to detect in Mr. Brown's thoughtful interpretation of the play becomes more apparent in his handling of the text. This is conscientious down to the last detail. But it attributes to the minutiae of the quarto original more significance than they will bear. There is little harm, though little point, in retaining hyphenated forms like *fare-you-well* (III. ii. 300), *robin-red-breast* (v. iv. 95); but in a modern-spelling text to print *travail* invariably for 'travel'—I cite the most frequent of Mr. Brown's archaisms—is to give primary importance to a secondary, or even an irrelevant, sense. The truth is that Mr. Brown is not really reconciled to the modernization of spelling which the practice of the Revels series requires of him. So he retains unnecessary distinctions by printing *a' th' stage* (III. ii. 249), *a' th' bench* (III. ii. 277) alongside *o' th' ground* (v. ii. 17). Worse, he confuses necessary ones by allowing the accident of quarto spelling and not the substance of the metre to decide between 'd and -ed in verbs: he has *turn'd* (II. i. 369), for example, where the inflexion is best read as syllabic, *withered* (I. ii. 243) where it is not. He adheres to the quarto's unmetrical contractions such as *to th'which* (v. iv. 113), *Th'other* (v. vi. 97). These pedantries may be small ones, and I may be thought pedantic to fuss about them; but they seem to me wrong in principle and they are numerous enough to have a serious cumulative effect. Mr. Brown knows all about the haphazard variations to which his compositors are prone; yet he often chooses to regard them as systematic. In printing 'who's this for? . . . Whose this?' (IV. iii. 20-22), he goes against the natural assumption, which the context supports, that the second question is a mere echo of the first. In preserving the quarto question-mark in the famous opening, 'Banish'd?', and defending this in what I find an ominous note, he evidently means us to conclude that the question-mark carries some subtle nuance of meaning. I think it is no more significant than the one he also clings to in Bracciano's deathbed cry, 'Vittoria? Vittoria!' If the typographical discrepancy here were in any way responsible for his feeling that the cry is enigmatic (cf. p. lii), the danger of his attitude would be manifest.

The punctuation of a Jacobean play must always be an awkward problem for the modern editor, especially if he is as aware as Mr. Brown is of the difference between seventeenth-century syntax and our own. But the difficulties can be exaggerated, and the method used here of supplementing the quarto pointing

by dashes while avoiding full stops like the plague seems to me to smack of defeatism. The result is just as tiresome as the exclamation marks and semicolons which peppered nineteenth-century editions and has the added disadvantage of being less intelligible.

The pains given to the full annotation of the text seem to me much more rewarding. This is always scholarly and usually judicious, not least in the use it makes of the admirable commentary of F. L. Lucas. A comparison between the two commentaries reflects the change of fashion over thirty years. Lucas, by his wide reading and his lively interest in popular beliefs, was excellently equipped to annotate a writer of Webster's allusiveness; but his more picturesque notes, like the page and a half on mandrakes, would sometimes range far beyond immediate needs. Mr. Brown, clinging more tightly to the dialogue, can often make the material point more tersely. He condenses in a couple of lines the essential facts about *mumma*, forgoing alike medieval custom, etymology, and Paracelsus. Lucas's notes on staging, which were never among his strongest and have not worn well, are occasionally corrected (i. ii. 204) but more often ignored. By contrast the new edition is loquacious on compositors. To be constantly reminded of these agents of transmission is, I suppose, salutary, but the more speculative notes about their doings do not justify their space. What I most value in the notes is the pertinent use of many little items from Mr. Brown's own wide seventeenth-century reading to give fresh illumination to Webster's mind and matter. His quotation about witches feeding spirits with their blood is much to the point (iii. i. 40). So is that from *Eastward Ho* which parallels Doctor Julio's method of escaping whipping (ii. i. 294-6). Though Lucas collected much lore about the unicorn's horn, it was left for Brown, with a reference to a Royal Society experiment, to explain the horn's effect upon the spider (ii. i. 14-16). Where Lucas annotated a reference to Homer's frogs by citing Chapman, Brown can show that Webster more probably used the translation of William Fowldes. He scores a notable success in interpreting Lodovico's 'Pretious grine' (iii. iii. 90) (= *grin*, a snarling grimace) by an apt quotation from Marston. It is hardly his fault, with so cryptic an author as Webster, if there are still a few allusions, like that to 'the geese in the progress', which elude satisfactory explanation.

One or two interpretations may admit of disagreement. I do not think the yew in Vittoria's dream can be both Bracciano and Camillo. It surely stands consistently for Bracciano, and the charge that Vittoria will plant a 'withered blackthorn' in its stead I take to refer not to her exchange of husbands but to the transformation she will work in Bracciano himself. If Mr. Brown is right—against previous editors—in calling Marcello the elder of the two brothers, I should welcome a note on Cornelia's ambiguous speech about her 'younger boy' who presumed upon 'his manhood' (v. ii. 62-63).

HAROLD JENKINS

Seventeenth Century Contexts. By GEORGE WILLIAMSON. Pp. 292. London: Faber and Faber, 1960. 30s. net.

Most of these essays were written between *The Donne Tradition* (1930) and *The Senecan Amble* (1951) and the reprinting of them now enables us to take a retrospective view of Professor Williamson's contribution to those immensely fruitful years of seventeenth-century studies. His books have established his reputation for learned and painstaking scholarship; these essays both consolidate his reputation and testify to the direction of his interests.

Mr. Williamson's studies are mainly historical, in that he is concerned more to trace the development of tradition in literature than to evaluate its individual manifestations; to demonstrate the process of 'literary continuity and change' (p. 76) by the correlation of analogues or by charting the evolution of ideas. This was his method in the complementary essays, 'The Restoration Revolt against Enthusiasm' and 'The Rhetorical Pattern of Neo-Classical Wit' which provided valuable documentation for the shift from Jacobean to post-Restoration wit. The essays on 'Mutability, Decay, and Jacobean Melancholy', 'The Libertine Donne', and 'Milton and the Mortalist Heresy' were concerned with the development of specific beliefs which in one way or another coloured the writings of the period; of these the most illuminating to the critic has been the first, in which Mr. Williamson related the Jacobean preoccupation with mortality to the wider concept of the decay of the world. In *The Donne Tradition* Mr. Williamson had coined the unhappy phrase 'metaphysical shudder' to epitomize Jacobean melancholy. I am sorry to note that he thought it good enough to repeat five years later.

In two new essays, 'The Convention of *The Extasie*' and 'The Obsequies for Edward King', Mr. Williamson turns to the comparison of poems. The first is a useful pendant to Miss Gardner's essay on Donne's poem in *Elizabethan and Jacobean Studies* (1959), for it shows that what Miss Gardner took as 'the unusual narrative form, with its exceptionally detailed setting' (p. 285) were features of a particular variation of the love-dialogue convention to which Sidney, Fulke Greville, Wither, and Lord Herbert also contributed. In the second essay Mr. Williamson's aim is to reveal the distinctive qualities of *Lycidas* by comparing it with the other *Obsequies*. But although he notes interesting differences and similarities, they lead him to no conclusion that could not have been reached by other routes, and indeed much of the ground was covered long ago by Hanford and Norlin in their work on the pastoral elegy.

Also included in this collection is Mr. Williamson's long article on 'Textual Difficulties in Donne's Poetry' in which he made a detailed study of Grierson's divergences from the 1633 edition. Since, however, he offered no new textual evidence, it is hard to see the reason for reprinting this now, after twenty years in which Grierson's readings have been reconsidered by later editors, and Mr. Williamson's own conjectures taken into account in Miss Gardner's edition of *The Divine Poems* and in Mr. Theodore Redpath's *Songs and Sonets*. The article would seem to have served its purpose.

It is only fair to say, in conclusion, that Mr. Williamson is not well served by

his publishers when they claim (twice) 'a special twentieth-century relevance' for these studies. The claim is quite unfounded and sorts oddly with Mr. Williamson's own view that 'the value of the essays now reprinted is partly historical' (p. 7).

KARINA WILLIAMSON

The Pilgrim's Progress. By JOHN BUNYAN. Edited by J. B. WHAREY. Second Edition revised by ROGER SHARROCK. Pp. cxviii+366. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960. 63s. net.

Second edition of what? The late Professor Wharey took as his copy-text in 1928 the third edition of Part I and the second of Part II. Mr. Sharrock takes the first edition of each, so that the text is different throughout and the critical apparatus necessarily different also. Two new sections have been added to the introduction and a forty-page commentary to the end. Part of the introduction, however, remains.

Readers will rejoice to have for the first time the full text of the first edition of both parts, with Bunyan's additions from the earliest edition in which they appear. Almost every page justifies Mr. Sharrock's choice of copy-text and supports his claim that its unconventional spellings, loose grammar, and colloquial or provincial forms (often normalized in later editions) bring us nearer to what Bunyan wrote and must be accepted as superior readings. Certainly the race and flavour of Bunyan's style is here preserved, that style whose graces seem to rise rather from than in spite of his lack of formal education—'for as God said to Moses, he that made the lips and heart, can give eloquence and wisdom, without extraordinary acquirements in a university' (*A Continuation of Mr. Bunyan's Life*, 1692). Sometimes the first edition contains a passage omitted in later editions; sometimes it preserves a correct reading against a later corruption, or a racy or provincial phrase against a conventional one as in 'Apollyon strodled over the whole breadth of the way', 'stay here awhile to acquaint with us', 'drownded in perdition', 'my brother did plash and did eat'. Some few desertions of the first edition (the editor declares that he has adopted revised readings 'only where plain inaccuracy is to be corrected') may be questioned, but in the main the reader will be convinced of the soundness of the text and of the editor's judgement where a choice was to be made.

The critical apparatus has been much lightened. It might have been further lightened by omitting insignificant variants in erroneous Biblical references. It is marred by inaccuracies, inconsistencies, and omissions. There are, too, some printer's errors here and elsewhere.

The commentary, in the shape of full notes on the text, is a most valuable addition. It incorporates the findings of much recent research, elucidating and illustrating many points. It is especially rich in its use of and reference to contemporary religious books and tracts. Unfortunately the first note contains an incorrect date, and so does the last one, as well as a *non sequitur*: 'This Third Part planned by Bunyan was never written, or it would have been published by Doe . . . in the Folio of 1692. A spurious Third Part was published in 1692.'

Both new sections of the introduction are marred by inaccuracies. The first attempts to date the composition of *The Pilgrim's Progress*. Many will agree with the conclusion that Bunyan wrote the greater part of Part I in the long imprisonment lasting from November 1660 to March 1672, rather than in the later one of six months, and that the break in the narrative—'So I awoke from my Dream'—represents his release from the 'Denn' of Bedford jail. But Mr. Sharrock's argument is not always logical, is sometimes less than lucid, and it incorporates some errors. He shows convincingly the close links with *Grace Abounding* and *The Heavenly Footman*, the one certainly, the other probably an early work: but he rests the main weight of his argument on the evidence of Bunyan's seventeenth-century biographers. Here he goes astray by supposing their terms, 'twelve years and a half imprisonment' or 'upwards of twelve years imprisonment', to refer to the early stretch (which was actually some months short of twelve years) whereas they are adding up the two terms and saying that some time 'during these confinements' he wrote the book. No one of the four biographers (they have oddly become five on p. xxv) assigns the composition to either imprisonment.

As to the introduction as a whole, in my opinion the bibliographical matter might with advantage have been drastically reduced. To most readers the establishment of a sound text ranks in importance far above the aim quoted by Mr. Sharrock from his predecessor's preface, 'to write the history of the editions of *The Pilgrim's Progress* that were issued in England from 1678 to 1688 and to discover as far as may be possible their relative textual value'. Mr. Sharrock brings up to date the account of the early editions and of the extant copies of these (there is mention on p. cxvii of a copy, the 'Howard', of the first edition, which seems to be a mistake for the 'Warner', also mentioned here) and follows his predecessor in separating the editions into two groups, the earlier of which, comprising the first four and the seventh, he shows to be greatly superior. As he also shows that only the first three editions are of substantive character, most readers will feel that the examination and comparison of later editions, in which there is no reason to suppose the author had a hand, should be reduced to a minimum. Might not the fourteen pages on 'Doubtful Copies and Editions' have been jettisoned, for instance? In establishing a sound text—an editor's main task in bringing author and reader into closest contact—Mr. Sharrock has been eminently successful; but an introduction which includes eighty-three pages of bibliographical matter, with sixteen facsimiles or photostats of title-pages, may prove something of a deterrent to those who are minded to obey Bunyan's own injunction, 'O . . . come hither, | And lay my Book, thy Head and Heart together.' This is a book which has touched the heart and the imagination of thousands since its author 'walk'd through the wilderness of this world'. It would be a pity if a disproportionate emphasis in an important edition made its touch less immediate. To many today its terrors, hopes, and arduous may seem remote, 'Yet I must tell you, that in former times men have met with Angels here, have found Pearls here, and have in this place found the words of Life'.

C. L. MORRISON

The Imagination as a Means of Grace: Locke and the Aesthetics of Romanticism. By ERNEST LEE TUVESON. Pp. 218. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press; London: Cambridge University Press, 1960. 40s. net.

That romanticism had its roots in the early eighteenth century is by now universally acknowledged. Wordsworth and Coleridge in 1798 were not storming a fortress ready to fight to the death; there were many sympathizers within and some eager to open the gates to the attackers. But it remains true that the precise relationship of romanticism to the Enlightenment has not been worked out in all its details.

Mr. Tuveson's thesis is that 'romanticism arose as the principle of reality was transferred to the subjective mind; nature came to be understood as a moral teacher, and imagination as a means of grace'. This development, he argues, was partly the outcome of Newtonian science with its emphasis upon the harmony and perfection of nature, and partly of Locke's 'new way of ideas'. With Newton Mr. Tuveson may be on firm ground; there is much to support the view that Augustan optimism owed something to Newton and that in its turn it coloured the attitude towards nature of the romantic poets. But the role for which he casts Locke is a surprising one, for Locke was notoriously lacking in any interest in aesthetics and his influence on literature and especially on poetry has always been regarded as a rather chilling one. J. S. Mill in his famous essays on Bentham and Coleridge distinguished between two traditions of thought: one deriving from the empiricism of Locke, Berkeley, and Hume, found expression in utilitarianism and had Bentham as its spokesman; the other was idealist and transcendentalist and was represented in England above all by Coleridge. One has only to read Coleridge's *Biographia Literaria* or to recall Blake's diatribes against 'the philosophy of the five senses' to realize that Locke was regarded by the romantic poets themselves not as an inspiration but as the arch-enemy.

Is there any plausibility, then, in Mr. Tuveson's argument? What there is comes from his suggestion that Locke's scepticism concerning our knowledge of the outside world transferred reality to the mind itself. But even here he does not put his case satisfactorily. Locke was not a subjective idealist. He believed in the objectivity of the physical universe and the primary (i.e. the mathematical) qualities that characterized it; only the secondary (i.e. the sensory) qualities were the product of the perceiving mind. Indeed, his emphasis on the mathematical qualities as 'really real' detracted from the status of those qualities of sense which literature considers so important. And yet Mr. Tuveson may be correct in thinking that throughout the eighteenth century men increasingly came to feel that what was important was what went on in their own minds rather than the external world. No doubt part of this development was the result of an increasing interest in psychology which was fostered by Locke's writings. Mr. Tuveson never distinguishes between Locke's contribution to psychology and his epistemology and this confuses the issues with which he deals.

Where he is considering psychological matters only Mr. Tuveson often writes with real insight. His suggestion that 'the characters of Shakespeare begin to

step off the stage and to assume lives of their own outside the plays only after the revolution' he describes, is probably a sound one. But when, as in writing of Addison, he mixes up psychology and epistemology, his conclusions are dubious. 'The imagination, for Addison,' he writes, 'serves as a means of reconciling man, with his spiritual needs and his desire to belong to a living universe of purpose and values, with a cosmos that begins to appear alien, impersonal, remote and menacing.' But if Addison did think of the imagination in this way he certainly did not learn to do so from Locke, though Mr. Tuveson contends that his 'conception of the imagination shows the inspiration of Locke everywhere'. Addison's psychology may in fact derive from Locke, but his epistemology (in so far as he has one) and especially his conception of the imagination probably owe much more to Shaftesbury.

Shaftesbury, too, as Mr. Tuveson reminds us, was a pupil of Locke's (in a literal sense, for Locke as well as being general adviser and physician to the Shaftesbury household was also tutor to the third Earl), but though, like the rest of the eighteenth century, he used Locke's terminology, his philosophy, as Mr. Tuveson acknowledges, was very different from his master's. It looked back to an older way of thought (and especially Platonism), to a tradition that the new empiricism challenged. It was the revival of this older tradition that encouraged romanticism; Plato rather than Locke was the guiding spirit of the new sensibility. The rebirth of symbol, metaphor, and emblem that came about with the romantic revival would have been anathema to Locke, who desired above all to establish a close and naked manner of speech.

For the remainder of his book where he is dealing neither with Newton nor Locke, Mr. Tuveson advances more tenable arguments. In the passages, for instance, where he discusses the importance of landscape and of the sublime in the growth of romanticism, he makes use of the recognized authorities. In writing of Locke he seems strangely ignorant of expert opinion.

R. L. BRETT

Richard Steele's Periodical Journalism 1714-16. Edited by RAE BLANCHARD. Pp. xxviii + 346. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959. £2. 2s. net.

Although Professor Blanchard can hardly feel thankful to her reviewers for regularly observing that Steele is often unworthy of his editor, her latest volume provokes the usual reflections. We need a critical edition of Steele's works; Miss Blanchard is giving us that edition, excellently prepared; but the works themselves are a disappointing contrast to the apparatus.

Here is one periodical essay, *The Lover*, which lasted for forty numbers, now edited along with three others which together amount to half that quantity. The total period covered is about two years, the last six months of Queen Anne's reign and the first year and a half of King George's; it includes the quarrels over the Peace of Utrecht, the flight of Ormonde and Bolingbroke, and the Jacobite uprisings of 1715. Steele does not shine. His attempts at political satire are heavy and blunt. His non-political essays often seem carelessly written

and fumbling in structure. When we feel interested and impressed, it is either by the steadiness with which he supports his principles or by the relevance of these papers to more significant works. For even at moments when caution might have lightened his risks without hurting his prospects, Steele was outspoken; and one consequence was his expulsion from the House of Commons. While the cries of pain over this humiliation are hardly stoical, neither are they hypocritical; and of course he was right in protesting that the expulsion had no basis in justice. Several papers not primarily concerned with politics contain anticipations of or parallels to the motifs of *The Conscious Lovers*; and Miss Blanchard persuasively supports the view that Steele conceived his finest play eight years before it was produced. Merely as evidence of his fertility the essays are remarkable. One must gape at the quantity of letterpress occupied by other pamphlets of Steele's at the same time as he was not only writing these periodicals but sharing the management of the Drury Lane theatre and serving as M.P. for Boroughbridge. Discounting the *Crisis* as a collaboration and the *Romish Ecclesiastical History* as a compilation, we still face a mass of work which includes the best of all his political writings, *Mr. Steele's Apology*.

Nevertheless, few of the essays in Miss Blanchard's new collection make good reading on their own account; and of these an embarrassing number are not by Steele but by his friends. Some of the *Lovers* (e.g. nos. 3, 5, 7, 34) have enough charm to remind us of the *Tatler*; and *Reader* no. 8 is a light-handed, attractive allegory. But the style in general seems hasty and diffuse. There are pages of obvious padding, such as the transcription of Steele's patent to be governor of the theatre (*Town-Talk*, no. 6). The amount of disagreeable self-puffing, direct and indirect, is such that Miss Blanchard can almost invoke it as a mark of Steele's authorship in a case of disputed attribution (p. 310). Most of the efforts to use vituperation are in clumsily bad taste, such as the suggestion that chamberpots be made bearing the faces of Lord Oxford and his relatives (*Lover*, no. 21). One long, supposedly humorous, anecdote (*Town-Talk*, no. 1) is a depressingly coarse piece of pornography coming from the self-styled reformer of the stage.

So it is not surprising that the editor avoids discussing the literary quality of her material and confines herself to exercising her high skill and erudition upon strictly scholarly tasks: establishing attributions and texts; surveying the history of composition, the circumstances of publication, and the themes of the essays; explaining allusions and background; and providing an admirable index. She gives a compact bibliography of editions and an appendix analysing five periodicals connected with Steele, 1714-16, which were projected, lost, or of doubtful authorship. In all these labours, her modesty, conciseness, precision, and learning are exemplary.

IRVIN EHRENPREIS

Theme and Structure in Swift's *Tale of a Tub*. By RONALD PAULSON. Pp. xiv+260 (Yale Studies in English 143). New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1960. 36s. net.

Mr. Paulson's study of theme and structure is admirably careful, thorough,

and judicial; his analysis of the text of the *Tale* opens up fresh possibilities for those who have read it less seriously. His knowledge of all that has been written about it is very complete, and his recognition of the importance of some other recent studies very generous.

Perhaps his most useful contribution is to draw attention to the particular manner of Swift's rillery, comparing it with the methods of others like Eachard and Marvell, or placing it in relationship with the great books in that tradition to which it belongs, *The Praise of Folly*, *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, and *Don Quixote*. For this is surely the right way to approach *A Tale of a Tub*; this is the world it belongs to, even more perhaps than the world of Irenaeus and Tertullian and controversies with the Gnostics, though it is true that Swift would seem to indicate the nature of his attack on the abuses of religion by putting on his title-page this bit of Gnostic jargon. In view of the impression that the book has made on many of its readers then and ever since, the reference to Irenaeus does not seem to have been very successful in 'implicitly connecting Swift with orthodoxy and those he attacks with heresy' as Mr. Paulson thinks it should. But the very extent of his satire on Mysticism, Cabalism, Alchemy, and Rosicrucianism, which was made very clear in the 'Notes on *Dark Authors*' at the end of the Clarendon Press edition of the *Tale*, would have had the effect on contemporary readers of associating the author with the rationalists and the sceptics, bent on releasing the mind of man from all this rubbish.

Nevertheless, Mr. Paulson provides an interpretation of the book which justifies the claim of the Author that he was concerned to expose the 'gross Corruptions in Religion and Learning', and the 'follies of Fanaticism and Superstition'. I do not understand why he felt it necessary in his examination of the structure of the book to try and give it a unity, by forcing upon us another mask or impersonation—this wretched 'Hack', who appears with nauseous iteration upon almost every page between us and the writer, and interferes disastrously with what is in any case a very difficult matter, the attempt to get at the meaning of this fascinating and mystifying and ridiculous—it is Swift's own word, if we call anything his, and not the Hack's—and irresponsible book. If Miss Kathleen Williams's book on Swift had not 'appeared too late to do more than corroborate some of his views', it might have provided him with a very necessary warning, for she says (p. 129):

Such terms as 'parody' and 'mask' suggest something too consistent and too simple, though it is hard to think of more adequate ones. Swift's manipulations are too complicated and too rapidly changing to be easily tabulated, except as part of the indirection which is essential if he is to express several things at once, as he is usually trying to do. . . .

Of all Swift's mouthpieces, the 'supposed Author' of *A Tale of a Tub* is one of the least tangible . . . it is not really possible to regard him as a person. . . .

We share the true author's creative liberty, not the supposed Author's captivity in chaos.

I believe it is still the safest way to a proper understanding of the book to rely on what the 'Author' says in the Apology, which was certainly written ten or

a dozen years after most of the *Tale* had been completed. He tells us that the judicious reader should bear in mind three things. First that 'some passages . . . which appear most liable to Objection are what they call Parodies, where the Author personates the Style and Manner of other Writers, whom he has a mind to expose'; and then he gives us precise examples of his impersonation (not that of an abstraction, a 'Hack'), of such writers as Dryden and L'Estrange. Secondly, he asks us to observe that 'there generally runs an Irony through the Thread of the whole Book, which the Men of Taste will observe and distinguish'; and I submit that the pleasure of watching the delicate play of the irony is entirely lost if instead of allowing ourselves the fun of riding the waves of this rhetoric, we are to be concerned with the explanations and the equations and the dichotomies and casuistries—they are all Mr. Paulson's terms—of this miserable 'Hack'. The third point is perhaps the most important of all, the reflection with which the Apology is concluded:

that, as Wit is the noblest and most useful Gift of Humane Nature, so Humor is the most agreeable, and where these two enter far into the Composition of any Work, they will render it always acceptable to the World.

Even in an examination of the theme and structure of the book, it must be remembered that its form was in no small measure due to the author's conscious determination to make it acceptable to his readers by writing in the tradition of Rabelais and Cervantes, and allowing plenty of room for the full play of his wit and humour. And we may be grateful to Mr. Paulson for restoring to the text one of Swift's little jokes, a misquotation of Lucretius, which occurred in all the original editions, but was corrected by his editors in the most recent revisions of the text, after it had been pointed out by Mr. Maxwell with Bentleyan thoroughness in *English Studies*, xxxvi (1955), 64–66. Indeed, *retro* for *tetro* certainly looks like a compositor's error, and one that would be easily overlooked. Nevertheless, I think Mr. Paulson may well be right, in such a book as this, in thinking that it was a deliberate misquotation, another little joke of the 'Author's'.

HERBERT DAVIS

New Light on Dr. Johnson. Essays on the Occasion of his 250th Birthday.

Edited by FREDERICK W. HILLES. Pp. xii+348. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959; London: Oxford University Press, 1960. 48s. net.

This volume consists of essays by members and honorary members of the society of *The Johnsonians*. Some half of them are new; the rest, mostly presented in revised form, have appeared as pamphlets or in periodicals. They range from the slender grace of Dr. W. S. Lewis's evocation of the young waterman to whom Johnson talked about the Argonauts, to the solid scholarship of Professor Kolb's demonstration of the use of Wilkins's *Mathematical Magick* in the 'Dissertation on Flying' in *Rasselas*, and Professor Bronson's far-reaching reconsideration of the figure of personification in eighteenth-century poetry.

There is a good deal of new light in sparkles and single beams, but the steadiest illumination is focused on two centres of interest, one biographical and one critical. Three writers inspect Johnson's relations with women, Tetty and others. Here the chief illuminant is Professor Pottle's discussion of 'The Dark Hints of Sir John Hawkins and Boswell'. With the help of Boswell's private papers, he establishes the strong likelihood that both Hawkins and Boswell knew of their friend's sexual irregularities during his association with Savage, and that they discussed with Langton what had best be done about the 'delicate question', seeing that the facts accounted, as they believed, for Johnson's remorse in his last days. Mr. Pottle's interpretation of Boswell's attitude is supported, he thinks, by Boswell's withholding of the interesting fact, now divulged by Dr. and Mrs. Donald F. Hyde from his transcript of entries in a Johnson diary, that, little more than a year after Tetty's death, Johnson planned to marry again. Both pieces of information were taken from diaries which Johnson burnt in his last days, and whose contents he wished to suppress. On both counts, they could not be used. The nature of Johnson's marriage, a question that both these papers raise, is also debated by Professor Clifford in 'A Biographer Looks at Dr. Johnson'. The upshot is to justify the 'uncharitable' Hawkins. Johnson 'had strong amorous passions' and, at least during his earlier London years, indulged them. However devoted he had been to Tetty, the marriage was not 'unimpaired', as Boswell said, and it was Johnson's sense of error and apprehension of responsibility in his wife's decay that conditioned his emotional cult of her memory.

The other centre of attention is Johnson's poetry. Four slightly overlapping and mutually supporting essays by Professors Nichol Smith, Butt, and Bronson and Miss Mary Lascelles are devoted to this, and we may add Professor Abram's elucidation of Johnson's critical attitude to metre and to poetical figures in relation to the expectations of eighteenth-century readers of poetry. Mr. Nichol Smith argues for the spontaneity of Johnson's verse. It accompanied him from his schooldays to within a week of his death, and gives us 'glimpses of facets which he did not mean to reveal in prose intended for the public', intimacies solemn and jestful. He praises the 'warmth of natural sentiment' in the elegy 'On the Death of Dr. Robert Levet', and remarks that it 'helps us to understand what Johnson looked for in an elegy, and failed to find in *Lycidas*'. It is from this point that Mr. Bronson begins his attempted rehabilitation of the eighteenth-century habits of generalization and personification, since, without some further education in 'reading skills', the warmth of sentiment seems to be inaccessible to a young generation, bred to expect the personal and the particular. It is especially satisfactory in the course of this closely argued essay to have our attention drawn to the eighteenth-century printer's practice of capitalizing abstracts, because it is as a result of assuming that every capitalized abstract noun was intended to be a personification that critics have often condemned a poet for deficiencies of their own invention. From Mr. Bronson we can turn back to Mr. Butt's study of 'Johnson's Practice in the Poetical Imitation', and find him selecting 'the grandeur of generality' as perhaps the greatest quality in his imitations of Juvenal, but pointing out that it is by no means the invariable mark of the classical imitator. Oldham and Pope give us plenty of particulars. Miss

Lascelles, using some of the same material with closer attention to Juvenal, investigates the differences of tone and attitude between the poets, and the 'undertow' that swings Johnson's *Vanity of Human Wishes* to a wholly different conclusion from that of his original. She sees it as a 'great tragic poem' and as Johnson's last effort to challenge public notice as a serious poet, since, shortly after, the comparative failure of *Irene* put an end to his tragic vocation.

These notes do not cover all that the book offers. From the remaining papers we may select for mention Dr. Osborn's 'Johnson and the Contrary Converts', because it presents a new fact—that Johnson, in the last ailing months of his life, deprived of the comfort of Streatham and estranged from Mrs. Thrale, seriously thought of retiring to the English Benedictine Convent in Paris, where he had been so kindly received by the brothers in 1775. It is the tragic Johnson who is emphasized in this collection, and the impression is confirmed by the reproduction, at the end of the book, of Trotter's engraving of his head.

J. M. S. TOMPKINS

The Correspondence of Edmund Burke. Vol. II, July 1768–June 1774. Edited by LUCY S. SUTHERLAND. Pp. xxvi+568. Cambridge: University Press, 1960. 90s. net.

This volume contains 185 letters written by Burke himself between his fortieth and his forty-sixth year, and 55 of these are here printed for the first time: of the rest, written to him or about him, only ten have been printed before. Though this makes a bulky volume, it clearly represents only a part of Burke's correspondence during these years. As the editor points out, it 'is predominantly a public and political' correspondence, and consists for the most part of letters written while Parliament was in recess and Rockingham and his supporters were living on their estates in different parts of the country, and therefore dependent on letters to keep them in touch with affairs. There are also some more intimate letters to his friends Richard Shackleton and Charles O'Hara, but, except for the nine family letters written during Burke's visit to France with his son Richard in January and February 1773, there is nothing surviving of his private correspondence. We are just reminded of his friendships by a single letter from Sir Joshua Reynolds and from Johnson, by an amusing ironical letter to Garrick, and by notes to Mrs. Thrale and Mrs. Elisabeth Montagu.

As in the earlier volume we are given at the head of each letter full details of the source of the text, and wherever necessary a paragraph of information about matters discussed in the letter, so that the footnotes can be kept concise, providing identification of persons, references to documents or newspapers for further comments, and when necessary a record of emendations that have been made in the text. We may be grateful to an editor who is able to select, out of the mass of material that tends to accumulate in the search for detailed information about people and events, only that which is strictly to the point which is being elucidated. And if no information has been found about some person referred to—or some breed of pigs—we may be confident that a thorough investigation has

been made, though the results were negative, and may well be content in these minor matters to share the ignorance of the editor.

Throughout the period of this correspondence Burke was a very active member of the Opposition in the House of Commons. There is occasionally a pleasant ring of confidence and satisfaction when he reports on the doings of the session, in spite of the fact that there was little promise of improvement in his own affairs, politically or financially. Thus he writes in May 1770:

We ended the Session by a motion of mine in the house [of] Commons, (or rather a string of motions) which you have seen in the Votes, relative to the ministerial proceedings in America; and by a similar set, by the Duke of Richmond, in the house of Lords. Neither of us lost Credit by our manner of opening and supporting our propositions. . . . the malice of my Enemies has not overpowered me; on the contrary it has been of service to me. The American day did me no discredit; and the Pamphlet, which contains our Creed has been received by the publick beyond my Expectations.

For the political historian there is much valuable comment of this sort, which provides information of the activities of both Houses of Parliament not to be found in the *Journals*, and, particularly in the correspondence between Burke and Rockingham, some indication of what was in their minds as they discussed their plans and policies, and whether they were mistaken or not in their notions of the opinions of their opponents. While working at *Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents* Burke tries to estimate what its effects will be inside and outside the House, and is careful to make clear to his friends what he thinks is its real significance. And out of his long experience he sets down his views on the real function of the Opposition in Parliament.

Generally he is concerned with reflections which arise out of the immediate situation, the practical concern of a particular moment, but in his letter to Dr. William Markham, Bishop of Chester, or rather in the draft which exists in the hands of several members of the Burke family of a reply to the Bishop, probably prepared in the latter part of November 1771, he indulges in a kind of 'apologia pro vita sua' and attempts to set down the principles upon which all his political activity was based:

My principles enable me to form my judgement upon Men and Actions in History, just as they do in current life: and are not formed out of events and Characters either present or past. History is a preceptor of Prudence not of principles. The principles of true politicks are those of morality enlarged, and I neither do or ever will admit of any other.

It is impossible to read this long defence without being aware of Burke's courage and energy, and his ability to bear the brunt of great trials and disappointments in both his private and public life. And this in spite of the fact that he sometimes confessed to his friends that 'if the thing were to do again I never should meddle with politics' — 'Either the thing itself is something wrong; or the time is unfavourable: or I am not made for the thing, or for the time.' In that mood he can go so far as to suggest that his real satisfaction is found only in farming:

These occupations, if they do not totally banish from my Mind, they suspend

many Cares, sorrows, and anxieties. They are my dearest pleasures; they would be so in a State of the greatest prosperity; and they have something soothing to a mind that is sore, and sick of many Griefs.

In this volume, perhaps the pleasantest reading is to be found in the letters to Arthur Young and his friend Charles O'Hara, when he writes about his experiments with crops, or his building a windmill, or the controversy about *deep plowing*. They leave us with a delightful impression of him, during the recesses of Parliament, enjoying his 'dearest pleasures' on his farm at Beaconsfield.

HERBERT DAVIS

Burns. A Study of the Poems and Songs. By THOMAS CRAWFORD. Pp. xvi+400. Edinburgh and London: Oliver and Boyd, 1960. 35s. net.

There have lately been signs, not quite obliterated by the ritual stamping of the bicentenary celebrations, that Burns studies are taking a turn for the better. Mr. Crawford's book—independent, well-documented, and perceptive—sets a new standard in criticism. He has a clear view of the intellectual and artistic development of Burns, his shifts in politics, his changing attitudes to the sophisticated reading public, and the different impulses behind the Ayrshire poems and the songs of 1787-96. (I dispute only the idea that the move to Ellisland turned Burns's attention away from genre-poetry: the shift was, I think, one of aim rather than of environment, and not only *Tam o' Shanter* but many of the best 'character' songs were written during the Nithsdale years.) Mr. Crawford is well read in Scottish literature and social history. He gives welcome attention to European and recent Russian criticism; and if he swallows too much of Ritter's *Quellenstudien* without an incredulous belch, his use of the neglected Angellier stands greatly to his credit.

His analysis of the major poems is generally excellent. On the epistles, *The Jolly Beggars*, *Tam o' Shanter*, *Holy Willie's Prayer*, and (notably in the present climate of taste) *The Vision* and *The Cotter's Saturday Night*, he is judicious, subtle, and engagingly fresh. His critical extravagances are few. (The landscape in *Tam o' Shanter* may, on the 'symbolic level', resemble 'the décor of a fantastic ballet' with hints of Crassie Gibbon and John Cowper Powys, the phallic and the archetypal; it is also very like a Scottish lowland landscape.) Mr. Crawford's sensitiveness to 'levels of usage' in speech—one of his strongest Scottish characteristics—and to the interaction of English and the vernacular gives new depth to his criticism, particularly in *The Jolly Beggars* and the songs. He rightly sees Burns, in the songs, as a craftsman who creates his own poetic diction as he works. Folksong—in England as well as Scotland—has a habit of assimilating imagery and diction from different literary traditions and social groups: more might have been made of this in a study of the language of Burns.

Mr. Crawford is widely read in modern literature, and much of his cross-reference is suggestive. But he seems to know less than he ought about Burns's own literary milieu. The notions of the Ruling Passion, Social Union, and Benevolence, familiar to Burns in his favourite poets Thomson and Pope, have been

ably analysed by Professor Mack, Dr. Røstvig, and others. An acquaintance with this work would have steadied Mr. Crawford's view of Burns's moral pieces, and greatly enriched his criticism of poems like *To a Mouse*, *Address to the Unco Guid*, and the first epistle to Lapraik (which he relates only to the principles of freemasonry). In *To John Goldie*, says Mr. Crawford, 'the man who in other contexts praised "Nature's fire" and uninhibited passion . . . scorns Enthusiasm, the religion of feeling'; and whereas the Augustan concept of Nature was 'more or less equated with external reality', Burns's 'spark o' Nature's fire' refers to something 'subjective, the equivalent of "genius" or "originality"'. After all that has been done on eighteenth-century ideas, it is depressing to find muddle like this in a sophisticated book.

Mr. Crawford is finely sympathetic in his account of Burns's religious beliefs, which have had little attention from modern scholars. It is fatally easy to systematize Burns's ideas too thoroughly—'that poor man's principles were abundantly motley', says the judicious Ramsay of Ochertyre, 'he being a Jacobite, an Arminian, and a Socinian'; but Mr. Crawford's picture is a persuasive one. He makes too much, however, of the conflict between (in Burns's words) 'the conviction of an intuitive truth' and 'the damned dogmas of reasoning Philosophy', which is part of Christian experience. It is true that 'the great opposition . . . between the instincts and the rational will was a common preoccupation of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Scotsmen'; it is also a preoccupation of many who, inside or outside a theology, reason but to err in a 'Chaos of Thought and Passion, all confus'd'. The issue of this inner conflict in hypocrisy is not, as Mr. Crawford thinks, 'inevitably and inefaceably Scottish'; there were English noblemen who would not have thought it odd to hear that Lord Grange and his cronies 'passed their time in alternate scenes of exercises of religion and debauchery'.

More should have been made of the medieval tradition in Burns's work. There is no reference to the tradition of the brawl behind *The Holy Fair*, or to the related genre of the burlesque wedding behind 'When Eighty-five was seven months auld'—both illustrated in Ramsay and in Duffey's *Pills*. The ancestry of Poor Mailie runs back through Ramsay and Hamilton, not (as Dr. Wittig and Mr. Crawford suggest) to 'the old beast fable' but to Lindsay's *Bagache* and the Papyngo and beyond. Mr. Crawford quotes Dr. Daiches on *The Holy Fair*, where Burns 'daringly reverses' the medieval use of secular love terms to denote divine love; but this reversal ceased to be daring in the later Middle Ages.

Mr. Crawford's discussion of the songs is good. He might, however, have given a fuller account of Burns's relations with Johnson and Thomson, and their effect on his poetry—Dr. Daiches is much better on this. Burns habitually waited until he was 'compleat master of a tune' before composing for it. Mr. Crawford, despite valuable comparisons with *Lieder*, does not make enough critical use of Burns's melodies. *Mary Morison*, for instance—a song in which 'the form corresponds perfectly to the content'—is analysed only as a poem. The 'living rhythm . . . slow, meditative, mournful' is lost in the reel tune to which Burns set his song; and Mr. Crawford misses the main tonal contrast, which is marked by the musical shift in the second part of the air. He has little to say of the bawdy songs, in spite of their intrinsic merits and the cultural interest of their themes and imagery.

Mr. Crawford took the simple course of going to Henley and Henderson for his texts. He would have done well to keep clear of their unsystematic collation of the manuscripts. Spasmodic reference to manuscript variants is always of doubtful critical value, and has its peculiar dangers. In the *Dumfries Election Ballad*, for instance, Mr. Crawford 'prefers' (without justification) a reading from the Glenriddell manuscript which that manuscript does not have.

Despite its faults, this is a courageous and important book. It is never tedious, even when it is irrelevant or wrong-headed. It lifts Burns criticism to a new level of subtlety and passionate concern. It whets the appetite for Mr. Crawford's next study—now well advanced—of the sources of the songs.

JAMES KINSLEY

The Style of 'Don Juan'. By GEORGE M. RIDENOUR. Pp. xviii + 172. New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1960. 32s. net.

Most readers would probably agree that the world of Byron's *Don Juan* is full of contradictions. In it, nature is beneficent and shows up the corruptions of civilization; at the same time, nature is ruthless and itself requires to be corrected and controlled. A similar antithesis characterizes humanity. Man is the slave of his appetites; yet he is capable not only of restraint and fortitude but also of nobility. It is much the same with love. Only if this is free can it be genuine; but if it is free it is probably guilty. Such is the world that Byron comes to terms with, and accepts, in *Don Juan*.

Mr. Ridenour gives a good account of this paradoxical view of things, while concerning himself primarily with the style of the poem which embodies it. He finds three structural principles in *Don Juan*. The first of these is the classical rhetorical theory of the styles. Byron couches his satire in the pedestrian, or low, style; but such is his dedication to truth that he periodically soars to the heroic level and by so doing justifies his claim to be writing an 'Epic Satire' (xiv. 99). Flight is a manifestation of pride, however, and can lead to a fall. In consonance with this, Mr. Ridenour names the Christian myth of the Fall as the second structural principle. Recurrent allusions to it, he argues, help Byron to organize in his poem the conflicting elements which compose the world as he knows it. The third structural principle is the character of the poet himself as this is presented in the poem which he is writing.

No one will question the importance of this last-mentioned factor. Indeed, many readers feel that it is mainly responsible for such unity as the rather casually assembled poem possesses. But have the first two factors really the importance that Mr. Ridenour ascribes to them? Admittedly, Byron shows an awareness of the classical theory of styles and makes a number of references to the Fall. But is this really enough to justify our speaking of these as 'organizing metaphors'? Mr. Ridenour states his case subtly and persuasively. As soon as we turn to *Don Juan* itself, however, his 'organizing metaphors' begin to fade into incidental imagery.

Byron claimed that *Don Juan* was a moral poem because it was truthful. Mr. Ridenour, while praising it for its truthfulness to the poet's paradoxical world-view, does not find this enough. His conclusion is that *Don Juan* is 'not an entirely comfortable poem' (p. 151). But what great poem is 'entirely comfortable'? Certainly not *Paradise Lost*, to which Mr. Ridenour frequently refers and which he very suggestively compares and contrasts with *Don Juan*. Anyone who wants a comfortable poem would do better to try *The Angel in the House*. By thus drawing our attention to his desire for comfort, Mr. Ridenour lodges in our minds the suspicion that this may be responsible for his ascribing to Byron a simpler moral attitude towards Julia (pp. 77-79) and towards Juan's rejection of Gulbeyaz (pp. 67-68) than the text of *Don Juan* seems to warrant.

When Mr. Ridenour is not trying to make the poem more 'relentlessly coherent and unified' (p. 125) than it really is, he has some excellent things to say. Not only does he, as already mentioned, give a good account of Byron's paradoxical world-view but he provides much extremely alert and perceptive analysis of his poetic technique. He writes interestingly, too, about *Don Juan* considered as dramatizing a transition from a state of innocence to a state of experience. In short, he is at his best when he is reformulating and redefining fairly widely held views; he is at his least acceptable when he is most original. J. D. JUMP

Shelley. His Thought and Work. By DESMOND KING-HELE. Pp. viii+390. London: Macmillan, 1960. 42s. net.

If Mr. King-Hele's own scientific background and his declared intention of stressing Shelley's scientific interests lead the reader to any expectation of a new approach to Shelley, in which a combination of literary sensitivity and scientific training enrich his understanding and enhance his appreciation of the poetry, he will be disappointed. We may, if we please, pick up from this book such bits of information as that *The Cloud* is 'not confined to one type of cloud. It is a survey of all types, though with a bias towards cumulus and cumulonimbus'; and we are treated to images such as: 'It was as if an idea had to circulate in his bloodstream for a time before it dissolved sufficiently to pass the poetic filter.' We are given a definition of the most important 'component' of the 'special scientific flavour' of Shelley's poetry as follows: 'being eager to delve beneath the surface of appearance . . . searching out the causal chain between one facet of Nature and another, and linking those facets imaginatively or metaphorically to interpret the scene described', but we are also told that 'science and poetry do not readily mix: the brew must be stirred with a very cunning hand if a palatable product is to emerge'.

All this fails to add up to anything very striking or penetrating, and disappointment in the material is aggravated by the brashness of the style. Mr. King-Hele's use of metaphor has already been illustrated, but examples abound: 'fascinating rehash' (echoes of *Kubla Khan* in *Mont Blanc*); 'he was willing to delete this monumental red herring' (the original brother-sister relationship in *The Revolt of Islam*); 'the theory that the humble and humdrum make good grist for the poetic mill' (Wordsworth); 'Shelley unleashes a chaotic pack of sense-images'

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(*The Woodman and the Nightingale*), &c. He is sometimes facetious and 'knowing' and he evokes one more to add to what must be a long list of protests at the habit of calling literary ladies by their Christian names: why should Mr. King-Hele call Mrs. Shelley Mary?

The insensitivity to word and image leaves little confidence in the specifically literary criticism which the book contains. Mr. King-Hele is not diffident in offering his comments on the poems, and attempts to analyse the metrical and stylistic 'tricks' (a favourite word) which he finds in individual poems. He is not noticeably successful even though he supplements detail with such remarks as: 'He [Shelley] also manages to keep up an unceasing flow of imaginative invention.' In short, though his intentions are honourable and his interest in Shelley genuine, Mr. King-Hele's critical tools are blunt and clumsy and to watch him at work on Shelley is a distressing experience.

This is all the more to be regretted because Shelley is so especially interesting and important a figure in the history of the relations between science and poetry. Shelley made poetry out of science, not simply *about* scientific discoveries. He imagined what he knew, and he imagined especially the organic unity of all creation, nature and man, mind as well as matter. He loved, as Mrs. Shelley wrote, 'to idealize the real—to gift the mechanism of the material universe with a soul and a voice, and to bestow such also on the most delicate and abstract emotions and thoughts of the mind'. Our growing appreciation of his knowledge of 'the real'—even in the limited sense of the scientifically accurate—should direct us to look with increased care at the nature of the interpenetration of the 'real' and the 'ideal' which he achieves. Shelley is a supreme myth-maker of the modern world because his myths are deeply founded in scientific and humanistic experience and he is a supreme symbolist because his mind, 'Holding an unremitting interchange | With the clear universe of things around', dissolved the barrier between the 'real' of the physical world and the 'ideal' of the non-physical and was capable of perceiving the subtlest significances in their inter-relations.

Mr. King-Hele does no more than scratch the surface of such ideas. His treatment of the scientific aspects of Shelley's poetry is much less serious and important than Carl Grabo's *A Newton among Poets* of thirty years ago (to which Mr. King-Hele makes surprisingly little reference) and as for 'a new appreciation' of Shelley's poetry, a 'balanced survey' from the point of view of the second half of the twentieth century, this book does not meet the bill. It cannot be recommended to readers of poetry whether they are with or without a special knowledge of Shelley.

JOAN REES

The Diary of Benjamin Robert Haydon. Edited by WILLARD BISSELL POPE. Vol. I, pp. xxvi+496; Vol. II, pp. x+554. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1960. £8 net.

Haydon's *Diary* has been well known for over a century, in the shape of the *Autobiography and Memoirs* edited by Tom Taylor (1853), as a source of anecdote on important representatives of the English Romantic movement in art and

literature. Professor Pope's two handsome volumes, to be followed by three or more, cover the period 1808-24, about half the range of Taylor's compilation. They provide a text direct from Haydon's journals, correcting and amplifying Taylor's version, which, we can now see, is marred by omissions, sophistications, and elegances for which Haydon was not originally responsible.¹ Thus in the entry for 8 April 1812, Haydon's 'luscious youthful love mingled with profound wisdom' becomes in Taylor 'dignity commingled with wisdom'; the quotation from *Macbeth*, 'the blanket of the Dark', becomes in Taylor 'the blanket of a sky' (17 January 1813); and various overripe descriptions of female beauty (for instance, 1 February 1813, 18 and 31 January 1815) are considerably chastened. An extended example of such toning-down may be found in Taylor's version of the rhapsodical account of a Raphael under 27 April 1812. Haydon's English as well as his imagery is pruned into neatness in such a sentence as 'how can you distinguish accident from essence?', originally 'how can you distinguish what is accident and what essence?' (1 June 1812); or, with some loss of vividness, 'I wonder they did not build a room for each of the king's limbs', originally 'I wonder they did not build a room for the King's right hand and a room for his left' (17 June 1814).

As these passages suggest, the *Diary* as a whole is a less tidy document than the *Autobiography*. It is often tiresomely repetitious, setting down artistic dogma time and again without much real advance in clarity: for instance, the notion that the painter conveys emotions by the physical attitudes of his subjects (i. 222-3, cf. i. 233, 329, 330, 436); the desirability of painting as decoration for churches (i. 259-60, cf. i. 261, 264, 268, 332-3); the difference between painting and sculpture (ii. 12, cf. ii. 52). Many entries record merely that Haydon worked hard, or feebly, or not at all. Some of the anecdotes are less effectively told: for instance, in the account of Hazlitt's christening party (i. 303), the absence of an officiating parson should have been mentioned, where the *Autobiography* places it, before the account of Mrs. Hazlitt's nauseating dinner.

In spite of such things, the *Diary* probably presents Haydon more accurately than the *Autobiography*. His depressions seem deeper here, and his occasional conversational and social triumphs less adroitly managed. His snobbery and egotism are clearer (ii. 138, 145), and his tendency to what he calls 'vice' is obvious even when references to it have been deleted or entirely removed from the manuscript. In general, he is in the *Diary* a more typical representative of the Romantic age than in the *Autobiography*, in his attempts (like those of Wordsworth and others) to define genius (ii. 4, 104, 109), and in his conviction, also like Wordsworth's, that genius was depressed by the Establishment of his day; in his sneaking sympathy for the heroics of Milton's Satan (i. 305, 324 ff.); in his admiration for the less Satanic heroism of Nelson (i. 283 ff.), who doubtless seemed to Haydon a model for his own strivings; and in the fascination which Napoleon

¹ Mr. Pope's preface does not make it entirely clear whether he considers the variants between the *Autobiography* (up to the end of 1820) and his own text to be due to Taylor's or to Haydon's recasting. Perhaps the evidence does not now exist; still, some of the omissions seem to be Haydon's; e.g. his claim in *Autobiography* (ed. of 1926, i. 41) that he was 'never vicious' is matched by the almost complete silence in Taylor's text on the fairly numerous sexual adventures recorded by Mr. Pope's.

had for him. The best parts of the *Autobiography*, the extraordinarily keen observations of people, individually (Sir George Beaumont, Hunt, Wordsworth, Shelley, Keats) and in the mass (the ambiguous attitude of the French in 1814, pleased to be at peace and disappointed in defeat, i. 352 ff.; George IV's coronation, ii. 349-51)—these are all here, sometimes with more liveliness than in Taylor's text; and there are new examples, such as the remarks on prisoners, ii. 420. There are also interesting comments on literature, such as the comparisons between Fielding and Richardson (i. 293) and between Shakespeare's *Lear* and Ariosto's *Orlando* in their madness (ii. 24-25), which do not seem to be in Taylor.

Mr. Pope's editing is discreet and usually adequate, illuminating the course of events where it is obscure from the *Autobiography* and other sources. His index of names is full and useful. He has a very few seeming misprints: 'through . . . Principles' (i. 23-24; for 'thorough . . . Principles' ?); 'has not taken' (ii. 30; for 'has now taken' ?); 'a belief, if supernatural power existing' (ii. 242; for ' . . . of supernatural power . . . ?'). It seems pointless to debate whether 'an uncle . . . in the Russian Service' was Count Mordinov or Thomas Cobley (ii. 90), when the *Autobiography* states plainly that Haydon meant Cobley. Of the numerous quotations, marked and unmarked, Mr. Pope has identified most, but there are some surprising omissions from his notes. Thus i. 72: 'the Moon, apparent queen, unveiled her peerless light' (*Paradise Lost*, iv. 606-9); i. 271: 'the very teeth & forehead of your faults' (*Hamlet*, iii. iii. 63, cf. *Diary*, ii. 289); i. 291: 'this dim spot' (*Comus*, 5, frequently quoted and identified elsewhere); i. 423: "'for terror in a beauty'" (*P.L.*, ix. 490-1); i. 452: 'that we can call these delicate creatures ours', &c. (*Othello*, iii. iii. 269-70); i. 463: 'the British Standard gleamed like a meteor' (*P.L.*, i. 536-7); i. 476: 'a dark and bottomless abyss' (*P.L.*, ii. 405); i. 493: 'had I but thy lip to press with kisses pure' (*P.L.*, iv. 501-2); ii. 7: 'the beauties of Nature now lite[?] on my mind like substances' (*The Excursion*, i. 137-8, cf. *Diary*, i. 455);² ii. 218: 'the vast abyss' (*P.L.*, i. 21); ii. 345: 'skyey influence' (*Measure for Measure*, iii. i. 9); ii. 347: 'compunctious visitings' (*Macbeth*, i. v. 46); ii. 362-3: 'a mind not to be changed by time or place' (*P.L.*, i. 253); ii. 451: 'the abyss of Time' (*The Tempest*, i. ii. 50); ii. 473: 'Evil may come', &c. (*P.L.*, v. 117-18); ii. 499: 'bloody, bawdy sadness' (*Hamlet*, ii. ii. 616, cf. *Diary*, i. 359: 'baudy, bloody indecency'). Other possible reminiscences are: i. 268: 'solemn roar' (*Il Penseroso*, 76); i. 270: 'cold, inanimate' (Coleridge, *Dejection*, 51); ii. 74: 'She is now hovering', &c. (adapted from *Merchant of Venice*, ii. vi. 14-19).

W. J. B. OWEN

The Speeches of Charles Dickens. Edited by K. J. FIELDING. Pp. xxiv + 456. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960. 50s. net.

Dickens on Education. By JOHN MANNING. Pp. xii + 252. Toronto: University Press, 1959; London: Oxford University Press, 1960. 44s. net.

'Textually a completely fresh start has been made', says Dr. Fielding of his

¹ The *Autobiography* (i. 244) states that Beaumont bought Haydon's *Macbeth* in 1816.

² The parallel suggests that the doubtful word may be 'lie'.

edition of Dickens's speeches, and he is entirely justified in claiming that earlier editions are now 'no longer of any value'. Containing over twice as many speeches as the most commonly used edition, and with texts incomparably superior and fuller, this is not only the definitive *Speeches*: it is much the best-edited item of Dickensiana yet published. All available versions of every speech have been scrupulously collated, and the annotation succeeds in its aim, 'to put the reader, as far as possible, on equal terms with a fairly well-informed contemporary, without distracting his attention from the speaker by too many notes'. Rarely is a note superfluous; rarely does one look in vain for the note one requires. The newly collected speeches extend our knowledge of Dickens's public and charitable activities on behalf of various hospitals and other good causes, but the most important addition is the series of seven speeches (all but one hitherto uncollected) delivered at meetings of the Royal Literary Fund. These speeches, together with Dr. Fielding's narrative and his articles (in *T.L.S.*, 15 and 22 October 1954, 19 and 26 September 1958, and *R.E.S.*, N.S. vi (1955), 383-94), clarify an important but little-known episode in Dickens's lifelong assertion of 'the Dignity of Literature'.

As an introductory chapter reminds us, Dickens was considered one of the great public speakers of his age. Most accounts of his oratory stress the magic of his voice and presence, but much of the charm, verve, wit, and good sense survive on the printed page. 'A man's public speeches may sometimes be as revealing as his private papers', says Dr. Fielding, but Dickens's, characteristic though they are, do not, I think, equal his wonderful letters in literary quality, nor in biographical or critical interest. The restraint of his speeches surprised many listeners, as several quotations show; it was, said one, 'the very perfection of neatness and precision in language . . . But it was without fire or tones of enthusiasm, or flights of fancy.' This description, while not fitting all the speeches, does indicate how many of Dickens's finest gifts were often in abeyance there, as in his conversation (where, recorded Crabb Robinson, 'He did not affect the *bel esprit*, but talked like a man of judgement on the news of the day'). A good way to talk, no doubt: but the 'man of judgement' was not paramount in producing the best of his writing.

Two small criticisms: eight speeches more than are entered in the notes on the text appeared in Shepherd's edition (1884); and Dr. Fielding, having printed one speech given at a private dinner (p. 425), might have included other such speeches remembered by their hearers (e.g. the Philadelphia luncheon, 8 March 1842, and the Thackeray dinner, 11 October 1855: see Richard Vaux, *The State Penitentiary . . .* (Philadelphia, 1872), p. 111, and Lionel Stevenson, *The Showman of Vanity Fair* (London, 1947), p. 304).

As Dr. Fielding has shown here and elsewhere in detail, what Dickens was prepared to say in public 'was not always the same as what he expressed as his opinions to his correspondents, or what he published in the guise of fiction'. His life and fiction 'never quite correspond. . . Much of his public life and private philanthropy does not seem to be directly related to his imaginative writing.' This understanding of the complexities of his personality and work is not apparent in Dr. Manning, but his book, too, *Dickens on Education*, surpasses its

had for him. The best parts of the *Autobiography*, the extraordinarily keen observations of people, individually (Sir George Beaumont, Hunt, Wordsworth, Shelley, Keats) and in the mass (the ambiguous attitude of the French in 1814, pleased to be at peace and disappointed in defeat, i. 352 ff.; George IV's coronation, ii. 349-51)—these are all here, sometimes with more liveliness than in Taylor's text; and there are new examples, such as the remarks on prisoners, ii. 420. There are also interesting comments on literature, such as the comparisons between Fielding and Richardson (i. 293) and between Shakespeare's *Lear* and Ariosto's *Orlando* in their madness (ii. 24-25), which do not seem to be in Taylor.

Mr. Pope's editing is discreet and usually adequate, illuminating the course of events where it is obscure from the *Autobiography* and other sources. His index of names is full and useful. He has a very few seeming misprints: 'through . . . Principles' (i. 23-24; for 'thorough . . . Principles' ?); 'has not taken' (ii. 30; for 'has now taken' ?);¹ 'a belief, if supernatural power existing' (ii. 242; for ' . . . of supernatural power . . . ?'). It seems pointless to debate whether 'an uncle . . . in the Russian Service' was Count Mordinov or Thomas Cobley (ii. 90), when the *Autobiography* states plainly that Haydon meant Cobley. Of the numerous quotations, marked and unmarked, Mr. Pope has identified most, but there are some surprising omissions from his notes. Thus i. 72: 'the Moon, apparent queen, unveiled her peerless light' (*Paradise Lost*, iv. 606-9); i. 271: 'the very teeth & forehead of your faults' (*Hamlet*, iii. iii. 63, cf. *Diary*, ii. 289); i. 291: 'this dim spot' (*Comus*, 5, frequently quoted and identified elsewhere); i. 423: "'for terror in a beauty'" (*P.L.*, ix. 490-1); i. 452: 'that we can call these delicate creatures ours', &c. (*Othello*, iii. iii. 269-70); i. 463: 'the British Standard gleamed like a meteor' (*P.L.*, i. 536-7); i. 476: 'a dark and bottomless abyss' (*P.L.*, ii. 405); i. 493: 'had I but thy lip to press with kisses pure' (*P.L.*, iv. 501-2); ii. 7: 'the beauties of Nature now life[?] on my mind like substances' (*The Excursion*, i. 137-8, cf. *Diary*, i. 455);² ii. 218: 'the vast abyss' (*P.L.*, i. 21); ii. 345: 'skyey influence' (*Measure for Measure*, iii. i. 9); ii. 347: 'compunctious visitings' (*Macbeth*, i. v. 46); ii. 362-3: 'a mind not to be changed by time or place' (*P.L.*, i. 253); ii. 451: 'the abyss of Time' (*The Tempest*, i. ii. 50); ii. 473: 'Evil may come', &c. (*P.L.*, v. 117-18); ii. 499: 'bloody, bawdy sadness' (*Hamlet*, ii. ii. 616, cf. *Diary*, i. 359: 'baudy, bloody indecency'). Other possible reminiscences are: i. 268: 'solemn roar' (*Il Penseroso*, 76); i. 270: 'cold, inanimate' (Coleridge, *Dejection*, 51); ii. 74: 'She is now hovering', &c. (adapted from *Merchant of Venice*, ii. vi. 14-19).

W. J. B. OWEN

The Speeches of Charles Dickens. Edited by K. J. FIELDING. Pp. xxiv + 456. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960. 50s. net.

Dickens on Education. By JOHN MANNING. Pp. xii + 252. Toronto: University Press, 1959; London: Oxford University Press, 1960. 44s. net.

'Textually a completely fresh start has been made', says Dr. Fielding of his

¹ The *Autobiography* (i. 244) states that Beaumont bought Haydon's *Macbeth* in 1816.

² The parallel suggests that the doubtful word may be 'lie'.

edition of Dickens's speeches, and he is entirely justified in claiming that earlier editions are now 'no longer of any value'. Containing over twice as many speeches as the most commonly used edition, and with texts incomparably superior and fuller, this is not only the definitive *Speeches*: it is much the best-edited item of Dickensiana yet published. All available versions of every speech have been scrupulously collated, and the annotation succeeds in its aim, 'to put the reader, as far as possible, on equal terms with a fairly well-informed contemporary, without distracting his attention from the speaker by too many notes'. Rarely is a note superfluous; rarely does one look in vain for the note one requires. The newly collected speeches extend our knowledge of Dickens's public and charitable activities on behalf of various hospitals and other good causes, but the most important addition is the series of seven speeches (all but one hitherto uncollected) delivered at meetings of the Royal Literary Fund. These speeches, together with Dr. Fielding's narrative and his articles (in *T.L.S.*, 15 and 22 October 1954, 19 and 26 September 1958, and *R.E.S.*, N.S. vi (1955), 383-94), clarify an important but little-known episode in Dickens's lifelong assertion of 'the Dignity of Literature'.

As an introductory chapter reminds us, Dickens was considered one of the great public speakers of his age. Most accounts of his oratory stress the magic of his voice and presence, but much of the charm, verve, wit, and good sense survive on the printed page. 'A man's public speeches may sometimes be as revealing as his private papers', says Dr. Fielding, but Dickens's, characteristic though they are, do not, I think, equal his wonderful letters in literary quality, nor in biographical or critical interest. The restraint of his speeches surprised many listeners, as several quotations show; it was, said one, 'the very perfection of neatness and precision in language . . . But it was without fire or tones of enthusiasm, or flights of fancy.' This description, while not fitting all the speeches, does indicate how many of Dickens's finest gifts were often in abeyance there, as in his conversation (where, recorded Crabb Robinson, 'He did not affect the *bel esprit*, but talked like a man of judgement on the news of the day'). A good way to talk, no doubt: but the 'man of judgement' was not paramount in producing the best of his writing.

Two small criticisms: eight speeches more than are entered in the notes on the text appeared in Shepherd's edition (1884); and Dr. Fielding, having printed one speech given at a private dinner (p. 425), might have included other such speeches remembered by their hearers (e.g. the Philadelphia luncheon, 8 March 1842, and the Thackeray dinner, 11 October 1855: see Richard Vaux, *The State Penitentiary* . . . (Philadelphia, 1872), p. 111, and Lionel Stevenson, *The Showman of Vanity Fair* (London, 1947), p. 304).

As Dr. Fielding has shown here and elsewhere in detail, what Dickens was prepared to say in public 'was not always the same as what he expressed as his opinions to his correspondents, or what he published in the guise of fiction'. His life and fiction 'never quite correspond. . . Much of his public life and private philanthropy does not seem to be directly related to his imaginative writing.' This understanding of the complexities of his personality and work is not apparent in Dr. Manning, but his book, too, *Dickens on Education*, surpasses its

predecessors on this interesting subject. Based on wide reading in Victorian educational books as well as in Dickens and other novelists, it is strongest when providing documentary background to the schools in the novels; the pages on classroom methods and textbooks are particularly revealing. Dr. Manning assesses Dickens's contribution to contemporary changes in attitudes towards children, and rightly dismisses the educational historians' claim that he was a Froebelian (though this has been disproved before). He shows that Dickens's part in educational controversy was 'emotional rather than intellectual', and that he had 'no well-thought-out administrative scheme' which could effect the changes he desired. Dr. Manning surveys also the speeches, articles, and letters, noting many of the relevant passages, but, relegating these to separate chapters, he evades the kind of comparison Dr. Fielding so usefully makes. Thus, he fails to see that, though Dickens satirized Mechanics' Institutes, Ragged Schools, Training Colleges, and other institutions, he was not fundamentally opposed to them; indeed, he helped as well as advocated many of them. A similar misunderstanding of Dickens's methods leads Dr. Manning to say that the description of Blimber's Academy cannot be taken very seriously because it is 'distorted for the amusement' of his readers. As his contemporaries recognized, Dickens's intentions here were serious and just—more than when he relied on sentimental literary clichés in presenting Mr. Marton or the pauper teacher in *Sketches by Boz*. Dr. Manning admires these, because they are played straight; he has, indeed, little perception of literary quality or technique, and offers such judgements as that the superficiality of Dickens's treatment of girls' education was justified 'because he was describing a superficial system of schools'.

There are many mistakes. For instance, Dickens's heroes are not 'more often than not . . . bastard children' (p. 44). Charley Hexam's first school was a Ragged, not a National, School (p. 59). Christ's Hospital and Charterhouse should not be considered among Charity Schools (pp. 64–65). Mrs. Pipchin's highly expensive establishment is not 'in much the same class' as Mr. Wopsle's great-aunt's at twopence a week (p. 74). William Shaw had only one eye, and therefore was suspiciously like Squeers (p. 90). Mr. Marton's was a parochial, not a private, school (p. 150), and Dr. Blimber's was a private, not a grammar or public, school (p. 204). The Government officer in *Hard Times* (1854) was not an Inspector (p. 141), nor does that novel attack the results of the Revised Code of 1861 (p. 201). Dickens's article on Ragged Schools for the *Edinburgh Review* was unpublished because he kept putting off writing it, not because it was too strong (p. 183). Dickens did advocate a state educational system, as that phrase was then understood: that is, he wanted the state to ensure that unschooled children went to school, and that school places were provided for them; nor was there any incompatibility between his wanting this and his helping to succour existing schools and institutions run by voluntary organizations (*passim*). It is, moreover, a great over-simplification to maintain that 'He seemed to think that everything could be solved by indiscriminate benevolence through which life might become Christmas all the year round' (p. 68).

P. A. W. COLLINS

A Concordance to the Poems of Matthew Arnold. Edited by S. M. PARRISH. Pp. xxiv+966 (The Cornell Concordances). Ithaca: Cornell University Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1960. 80s. net.

The long wait for an Arnold concordance is well repaid. Had it ended sooner, the result must have been neither so compendious nor so faultless. For this is the first concordance to be produced by electronic computer, and it inaugurates less a new series of concordances than a revolution in large-scale indexing. The choice of Arnold as standard-bearer is a soft answer from our machine civilization, and not wholly without the irony we look for in soft answers. His poetic stature, his early place in the alphabet, and the lack of an existing concordance all played their part in the choice, as did also, and not least, the settled condition of his text and canon—*majores poetae minus benigne visi*. The series will continue with Yeats, and after him (assuming a *Times* correspondent to know) with 'the poems of . . . Ben Jonson, the complete works of William Blake and the Anglo-Saxon poetic records' (*sic*: *The Times*, 15 February 1960, p. 10).

The preface describes the mechanical process, summarizes the distinctive features of a machine concordance with special reference to this one, and assesses the gains and losses compared to those of non-mechanical techniques. The gains include an immense reduction of time and labour, and an easy because mechanical achievement of accuracy and comprehensiveness. Thus, as regards the last of these, the basic text used (the 1950 Oxford edition of the *Poetical Works*) is augmented with all variant lines in this edition, as well as with all verse by Arnold printed in the Tinker-Lowry *Commentary* on Arnold's Poetry (1940) and in the 'Clough' and 'Russell' *Letters*; while, in quantity of index words, only 151 words are omitted from a total of some ten thousand of Arnold's poetic vocabulary—the inevitable degree of arbitrariness here is not unreasonable. Some may wonder why the drag-net had to be so large in the case of Arnold. The answer is: if the machine is so gluttonous of work, why not exploit such a virtue to the full? The volume is well arranged, easy to use, and not uncomfortably bulky. Granting the machine's voracity to be somewhat offset by its lack of discrimination, on the whole the panel's decision to take a boldly comprehensive line is triumphantly justified.

Some of the following features, however, will show that in certain regards the constant intervention of the human hand permitted by older techniques remains to be preferred, though in this concordance we are confronted far more in these cases with what is initially embarrassing than seriously incommoding. The lettering is confined throughout to roman capitals. There is no punctuation or other extra-literal symbolism except hyphens—a deficiency less irksome than might be expected, save perhaps in the case of comma-apostrophe whose absence causes some unfamiliar forms (*Thames, usd, yearll, &c.*) and assimilates formations with and without apostrophe in the index (*fee'd, I'll, she'll, &c.*). The undifferentiation of homographs on a basis of meaning is usual and here unavoidable. The last two features, among others, show how carefully the frequency-list of index words needs to be used. Derivatives and variants are separately indexed without normalization (*change changed changes, &c.; fixd*

fixed fist, mid amid, neath beneath, &c.), but many variants can be regarded as dictionally distinct and so entitled to separate listing anyway—this is often a matter for delicate discrimination which varies from person to person. Hyphenated words had to be indexed *either* compoundly *or* componently. The verdict in favour of the latter is justified on balance, but the dilemma is a real one in Arnold and a disadvantage of his treatment by machine. The frequency-list of index words is from plain machine computation of the raw entries under each word. Its computational accuracy may be total, but enough has here been said to impress the reader with its deceptiveness for any reasonable use to which it could be put. Still, it will make a most useful foundation in studies of Arnold's language.

J. P. CURGENVEN

Last Witness for Robert Louis Stevenson. By ELSIE NOBLE CALDWELL. Pp. xiv+386. Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960. \$5.00.

The death of 'Teuila' (Isobel Strong, later Mrs. Salisbury Field) in 1953, at the age of ninety-four, broke the last link with the almost legendary Stevenson household at Vailima. She had written several small books about her stepfather and in 1937 her autobiography to the date of Stevenson's death, under the title of *This Life I've Loved*—to which the promised sequel never materialized. But she remained to the end an eager and devoted student of all that was written about R. L. S., and a charming letter-writer even to the least of those who wrote to her with intelligent inquiries about him.

An inquirer who became a close friend for the final twenty years was Mrs. Caldwell, an enthusiastic expert on the South Seas, who has now striven to frame and preserve all that she learnt from this the Last Witness for Robert Louis Stevenson.

It is unfortunate, however, that she should have written it in the form of a large book, and still more unfortunate that she should have felt compelled to pad her material with disconnected information about Polynesian customs, languages and history, and with chunks from already published works by Stevenson.

She had to hand admirable material for a long article, or even a short book: the excellent last chapter, for example, with its graphic description of Stevenson's death and burial, though it adds little to our knowledge, brings the scene before us as vividly as if we actually sat at Teuila's feet listening to her first-hand recollections. But the book as a whole is a tiresome rag-bag, jumbled together in the most disconcerting and annoying fashion.

Long extracts from *In the South Seas* are mixed with letters and fragments nearly all of which (though Mrs. Caldwell does not often say so) can be found in such standard editions as the 'Vailima' and 'Tusitala'; nearly the whole of *Father Damien* is included, merely to be dismissed with: 'There it is—cruelly vindictive and mean, boringly repetitious, shamelessly titled: "An Open Letter, etc."...—but with no reasons given for this condemnation.

When previous books on Stevenson are criticized for their misstatements (and

here we expect authoritative pronouncements from Teuila) the offending biographer is left discreetly unnamed (though easily identifiable), and only in one case is Teuila quoted specifically (pp. 252-3)—and then from an already published letter. Mrs. Caldwell knows all about several biographies of no importance (though she never mentions their more serious misstatements), but ignores J. C. Furnas's *Voyage to Windward* (1951) which disproves nearly all of them with absolute finality, and is the only biography worthy to hold a permanent place beside Graham Balfour's superb achievement of fifty years earlier.

Even as a book on Stevenson in the South Seas, one feels that Mrs. Caldwell has succeeded in giving only a superficial and partial picture. Many pages are occupied with the writing of *The Master of Ballantrae* (largely described in extracts from material already published in Vol. X of the Tusitala Edition); but little about the real South Seas novels such as *The Wrecker* and *The Ebb-Tide*. If the fragment *Heathercat* must come in suddenly for detailed notice, why not the equally interesting *Young Chevalier*? If Malietoa is a major character, why is Tembinok never mentioned? Much is made of Stevenson's loneliness in Samoa, yet there is no reference to Bazett Haggard, one of his few close friends among the English residents. The same is true of Stevenson's friends in England: Baxter and Colvin appear very casually, while his closest friend seems to be Edmund Gosse—whose poems to Stevenson, both living and dead, are quoted in full (as if other friends such as Lang did not write tributes as good or better); yet Mrs. Caldwell professes not to know whether Stevenson wrote to thank Gosse for *In Russet and Silver*, though the letter, his last (written 1 Dec. 1894) appears in every edition of his works.

When she ventures into bibliography, Mrs. Caldwell is even more casual: no single *Dynamiter* story was published separately (p. 21); 'Will o' the Mill' was written in 1877 (cf. *Tusitala Letters*, ii. 32)—if there was a draft in 1872, some authority should be given; no version of 'Requiem' was published in 1879 (p. 272)—the 24-line version was first printed in 1916 and included in *New Poems* in 1918, and the 'missing' stanza in 1915.

ROGER LANCELYN GREEN

Robert Bridges and Gerard Hopkins 1863-1889. A Literary Friendship.

By JEAN-GEORGES RITZ. Pp. xviii+182. London: Oxford University Press, 1960. 21s. net.

Robert Bridges, who is, in his way, Miltonic, ready to discourse, and intent upon explicit *ordonnance*, may yet prove to be a hero of the anti-symbolist counter-reformation—a position which Dr. Yvor Winters, indeed, has long been grooming him for. Unfortunately, his work (to borrow one of Professor Lewis's observations about *The Shepherdes Calender*) 'commits the one sin for which, in literature, no merits can compensate: it is rather dull'. The author of *Robert Bridges and Gerard Hopkins* does not venture to say anything so unfriendly. He admires Bridges as a man and as a gentleman, as many people did, and he provides a calm and kindly account of his long friendship with the greater poet. There

is a series of three chapters of a mainly biographical and personal character, followed by two somewhat longer and more elaborate ones entitled 'Two Poets Discuss Each Other's Verse' and 'The Varied Interests of Two Cultured Minds'.

Bridges destroyed his own letters to Hopkins and guarded in other ways his privacy from the biographer, while in Hopkins's *Journal* Bridges is scarcely mentioned. Apart from *The Testament of Beauty* itself, the book that comes nearest to giving us some idea of his mind and personality is Edward Thompson's (1944). Professor Ritz has, of course, drawn upon this; but his principal and in some ways his only real source is *The Letters of G. M. Hopkins to Robert Bridges* as edited by Professor Abbott. Dr. Ritz has a thorough command of the rest of the printed work about the two poets. He has also used some manuscript letters of Bridges which are in the Bodleian. But his subject is the personal, literary, and intellectual aspects of the long association. It cannot be said that he reveals anything important about this association that was not already known to a careful reader of Professor Abbott's volume and the few pages on the subject in Mr. John Wain's recent Academy lecture on Hopkins open up wider perspectives than anything in Dr. Ritz's book. His sorting out of the material is of some value; his summary of the effect, so far as it went, on Bridges's revisions and Hopkins's mannerisms (pp. 108-11) is just. But he brings us no nearer to Bridges than Thompson did, and much less near to Hopkins than the raw and unmediated texts of the letters and papers do. If his pleasant and conscientious survey were to prevent readers from going directly to those astonishing documents it would be a great pity. Studied in conjunction with Hopkins's other friendships and properly set against its background of Victorian and southern English *mœurs*, the association with Bridges may in time be used by Hopkins's biographer to give us a fuller and deeper portrait of Hopkins than any we have yet had. But our knowledge of the relationship with Bridges as such is lop-sided, and it is not the researcher's fault that it seems likely to remain so for ever. What else except the miraculous reconstitution of letters long ago reduced to ashes can possibly provide the basis for a study which would redress the balance?

PETER URE

From Gautier to Eliot. The Influence of France on English Literature 1851-1939. By ENID STARKIE. Pp. 236. London: Hutchinson, 1960. 21s. net.

At the end of the first Part of her book, which deals with the period from 1851 to 1914, Dr. Starkie quotes Mr. Connolly in *Horizon*: 'When we compare Balzac and Flaubert to Dickens and Thackeray, Baudelaire to Tennyson, Sainte-Beuve to Hazlitt, we must lower our eyes! There is nothing to say! The Frenchmen are adults, beside them the English have not grown up.' Although name for name this seems a wrong-headed way of addressing ourselves to the Victorian masters, its implications are not evaded by Dr. Starkie; her first half-century comprises the Pre-Raphaelites, Swinburne, Pater, Symonds and the Nineties, George Moore, and some lesser figures. Contemplating this somewhat ragged army, Dr.

Starkie entitles her first Part 'The Seed', but does not entirely escape the occupational risk of giving us an exaggerated view of its importance: 'Everything', she says, 'that was most vital and original in English fiction, during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, came from France.' The remark concludes a chapter whose central English figure is Moore, and in which no mention is made of the authors of *Jude the Obscure* or *Heart of Darkness*. Her second Part (1914-39, and a little beyond to the later works of Edith Sitwell and Graham Greene) is entitled 'The Fruit'. The longest chapters here deal with the influence of the French symbolists on Yeats, Eliot, and Pound, and of Proust on Joyce and Virginia Woolf, the latter a much more debatable matter, as Dr. Starkie points out, than, say, the influence of Laforgue on Eliot. There are again some odd generalizations: 'The most skilled and talented short-story writers during the period between the two wars were Somerset Maugham and Katherine Mansfield' (p. 200). The sketchiest chapter, inevitably, is on the drama, of which it is said: 'The impact of the French theatre on the English . . . was in acting and production, rather than in the actual plays of the new dramatists.'

The book is 'primarily addressed to readers of English literature' and is not intended for specialists but as 'a signpost for those who are not well informed' (preface). Judged with this intention in view, it is a moderate success. None of us, perhaps, are as well informed as we ought to be on a subject of such importance, and there can be few who will not learn something from this account. As might be expected, the work of the French authors is described with lucid authority. It is more important that such a book should stimulate interest and draw a rough outline map than that it should seek to qualify too much or plunge into all the complexities. The other danger which Dr. Starkie has avoided is dullness. There is plenty of good detail, carried especially by good quotations and by matters such as a long, particular account of Des Esseintes (pp. 82-85). Political attitudes are not shut out of literature, which is perhaps why the date of the Great Exhibition rather than that of *Émaux et Camées* is taken as the official starting-point. There is some 'Celtic' mysticity: Arnold was 'half Celtic' and so had 'perhaps more affinity and sympathy with a Mediterranean race [i.e. the French] than his Anglo-Saxon fellow-countrymen'; Symonds was born 'in Wales . . . of Cornish parents, and so was a Celt, as are most of the writers who had affinities with French culture'. Odd things happened to Yeats, too: in 1896 he was 'withdrawn from the general stream of English and European poetry', and in 1912 'he made the acquaintance of Ezra Pound, and this brought him back into the general stream of European literature'. (Incidentally, Dr. Starkie (p. 126) confuses *On Baile's Strand* with *Where there is Nothing*; the first version of *The Shadowy Waters* was printed but not written in 1900; the impression is given on p. 125 that Yeats spent 1894-6 in Paris; even as a generalization the sentence 'Yeats went back to Ireland, taking Synge with him, and they brought to a country that was becoming conscious of itself as a culture separate from England, the lessons they had learnt in France' will not do; the notion that Yeats ceased to write symbolist poetry after about 1904 (p. 127) vitiates the account of Yeats's later verse; it is now impossible in a Yeatsian context to attach much meaning to phrases such as 'disillusionment with the fairylands' and 'awareness of the shock of modern reality' or to the statement

that Yeats's 'chance meeting' with Synge 'brought to maturity his conception of literature'. Stale and tired formulae of this kind are unfortunately characteristic of the weaker parts of the book.)

It is a pity, in a 'signpost' book such as this, that the three pages of 'Suggestions for Further Reading' are so inadequate and that no references are given in the text to most of the numerous quotations. The concluding chapter, which is a clarion-call to lovers of France, is out of place. It is difficult to imagine English students being helped through the pages of Huysmans or Mallarmé by the reflection that France 'can become the needed bulwark against international communism'.

PETER URE

The Charted Mirror. By JOHN HOLLOWAY. Pp. xii + 226. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960. 25s. net.

Mr. Holloway collects in this volume fourteen of his literary essays, all of which have previously appeared in print. The essays are arranged under three headings representing the criticism of poetry, the criticism of prose, and 'discussion of some of the leading ideas of criticism itself', and an effort has been made to balance these sections in critical weight. The original dates of publication of the essays are not given, but this may well be intentional as Mr. Holloway tells us that the pieces have all been revised, 'some in matters of detail and others substantially'. The earliest essay that I can identify is 'Matthew Arnold and the Modern Dilemma', which appeared in the first number of *Essays in Criticism* in 1951; another essay, 'The Odes of Keats', also belongs to the early nineteen-fifties; while 'Skelton', the 1957 Chatterton Lecture of the British Academy, and 'Hardy's Major Fiction', a contribution to the James Hillhouse memorial volume *From Jane Austen to Joseph Conrad* (1959), are among the more recent pieces. It would appear then that this collection is composed of the occasional essays of a decade. Mr. Holloway would not be satisfied with this way of putting it. In his preface he argues that his book is 'no mere aggregation of pieces which throw no light on each other' because the essays contained in it 'have the common ground that they seek to explore their subject from the standpoint of a guiding idea which is often neglected'. This idea is the 'variety' in the questions which a critic may put about a work'. It is true that no single mode of critical procedure is always right, and Mr. Holloway is certainly justified in adopting different critical approaches to different subjects, but he is surely too sanguine in expecting this idea of variety to give a unity to the collection other than that which it derives from the essays being the product of a single mind. Readers will not be struck by it. After they have taken in the variety of critical approach they are likely to notice rather the remarkably heterogeneous nature of the subjects (from Skelton to the contemporary School of Anger) and the differences of tone and flavour to be expected in passing from a sober British Academy lecture by way of an essay in the *Hudson Review* to what was originally the short script for a B.B.C. talk. In fact the preface bids a shade anxiously for our attention and should not be taken too seriously.

The essays themselves, which we have read in other contexts, are interesting when seen together as a collection because they bring out so well the problems now facing the academic literary critic who at one and the same time attempts to inform his professional colleagues and inform and entertain the common reader. Twice Mr. Holloway succeeds brilliantly in this difficult double role: 'Matthew Arnold and the Modern Dilemma' and 'Wyndham Lewis: the Massacre and the Innocents' are both excellent, combining liveliness and information most skilfully. (Nothing better than this second essay has been written on Wyndham Lewis in recent years unless it be Mr. Toulmin's British Council pamphlet.) Three other essays, which are all to be found in Part III ('The Critical Intimidation', 'The New and the Newer Critics', and 'The New "Establishment" in Criticism'), are also very successful but in a different way. These pieces are a real contribution to what may be called the contemporary politics of literary criticism, but they are too professional to cut much ice with the ordinary reader. In fact, Mr. Holloway is the critics' critic with all that popularly implies in remoteness. The literary essays in Parts I and II are not professionally remote, but most of them solve the problem of the two audiences less successfully than it is solved in the Arnold and Wyndham Lewis essays already singled out for praise. Here on a scale of merit the two pleasant essays on 'Hardy's Major Fiction' and on '*Tess of the D'Urbervilles* and *The Awkward Age*' would have to be placed high, while 'Dramatic Irony in Shakespeare' and 'An Analysis of Swift's Satire', which illustrate in my opinion what Bagehot once described as 'a fatigued way of looking at great subjects', would come near the bottom. Trying to put a finger on the weakness in these literary essays, I can get no nearer than saying that they are laborious. It is as if Mr. Holloway had usually felt it inappropriate to suggest to his readers the pleasure and excitement to be found in reading because he was awkwardly aware that many of these readers would be fellow academics. But do we who are involved really think that literary criticism cannot be serious if it is entertaining?

KENNETH ALLOTT

Image and Experience. By GRAHAM HOUGH. Pp. x+228. London: Duckworth, 1960. 21s. net.

The heart of *Image and Experience* lies in its first three essays, which are collectively titled 'Reflections on a Literary Revolution' (originally lectures given at the Catholic University of America, and published there separately under this title). The other essays in the book relate more or less directly to the theme of these lectures, and, as we should expect from a critic of Mr. Hough's calibre, they contain many good things. Especially valuable is his reminder, in his two essays on George Moore, of Moore's importance—at present much underrated—both in his own right and as a mediator between French and English literatures. But it is the 'Reflections on a Literary Revolution' which hold the greatest interest.

In them, Mr. Hough takes a serious look at the poetry of this century, and arrives at some not very orthodox results. In brief he sees 'modern poetry' (and

he points out that we still have no term other than 'modern' to describe poetry since 1910) not as a development from previous poetic tradition but as a deviation from it, a deviation from which we may now have to make a return. Some very powerful voices, it is true, have in recent years been saying much the same thing about the novel, but about poetry it is still a new thing to say. As Mr. Hough says, the 'new criticism' has singularly failed, except in isolated instances, to apply its rigorous judgements to the poetry of its own age. (Mr. Hough is agreeably sharp in his incidental comments on present-day critics, both those who conduct their discussions in an elevated jargon unintelligible to anyone outside their profession, and in their expertise lose sight of the art they purport to discuss and of any response to that art likely to be experienced by that despised creature 'the ordinary reader', and those who in their moral agitation think, in Mr. Hough's phrase, that 'all literature would be *Middlemarch* if it could'.) Much modern criticism is still—fifty years on—engaged in defending modern poetry; it has never, in fact, lost the polemical quality it had in the hands of Pound and Eliot. 'Modern poetry' should no longer need defending; what it needs is careful and dispassionate judgement of its practice and theory.

That theory Mr. Hough calls, with some reservations, 'Imagist'. Perhaps 'Post-symbolist', a term he also uses, is more appropriate, for the key figures in it are Mallarmé and Valéry (to the second of whom Mr. Hough makes only slight reference). Symbolism as a literary theory came to this country late: or rather it came twice, once in the nineties, via Symonds and Moore, and again about 1910, via Pound and Eliot. At its first coming it affected only one major poet, Yeats; at its second coming it took more general hold, but by this time it had lost its earlier magical and mystical overtones. By 1910 poetry was no longer supposed to embody 'correspondences' between this world and some world of super-reality; instead it was to be autotelic, self-validating—in fact, 'pure poetry'. The diction, the imagery, the structure of the poem became relevant only to the poem, and the poet, far from being a man suffering like other men, became a disembodied voice—or, in Mr. Eliot's famous phrase, a catalyst. Thus poetry became unchallengeable, unverifiable, and incapable of being valued in terms of any other experience than the experience of itself. As a result, a poem became a series of isolated 'images', or in Mr. Hough's words, 'shocks of sensuous recognition', and the reader had to become conditioned to respond to these as they occur, and not to look, as in older poetry, for any connexion between them either narrative or logical. Not unnaturally, all but a few readers have refused to become so conditioned and have simply given up reading poetry, so that after all the talk about 'tradition', we have lost, as Mr. Hough says, 'the most important tradition of all, that of a natural community of understanding between poet and reader' (p. 44).

Mr. Hough states his position unequivocally: 'I want to say that a poem, internally considered, ought to make the same kind of sense as any other discourse' (p. 25). This may not sound startling or new; much the same was being said throughout the 1920's and 1930's by those who disliked 'modern poetry'. The important point is that it is here said not by one of the 'old guard', but by someone brought up in the new concept of poetry, and at one time, as he says,

a subscriber to it. Mr. Hough goes even farther in pointing out that the 'men of 1914' in Wyndham Lewis's phrase ('Pound's big brass-band' Joyce called them) did *not* succeed in establishing a new tradition in poetry; in fact they have had no successors of importance. The reason for this, in Mr. Hough's view, is that the revolution was a literary revolution only, and not, like the Romantic revolution, linked to a widespread climactic change in feeling and thought. The 'men of 1914' left to their successors not a new way of thinking or feeling, but a new way of writing, a new style and diction. This may be disputed, and Mr. Hough can be accused of provincialism in focusing his attention so narrowly on English poetry; 'modern poetry', it will be said, is international. To this charge he would reply that poetry, being after all a handling of a particular language, is *never* international—and add for good measure that when he speaks of 'English poetry' he means *English* poetry, and not 'poetry in English'.

He has also, of course, to face the question, what does he want us to do about it? If we are to return to the real tradition of English poetry, where are we to find it? To those questions Mr. Hough has not provided specific answers, although he gives us some hints. He does not want to ignore completely all that has been done in the last fifty years; indeed he thinks this both impossible and undesirable. 'Post-modern poetry' (if that is what we must call it) must recognize and absorb the technical achievements of its predecessor. But it must also speak to the ordinary reader and *about* the ordinary reader's experience, and cease to be 'literary man's literature'. This is not anything so crude as 'engagement'. Mr. Hough speaks of it most clearly when he is discussing Ruskin's account of the experience of art, and comparing it with the more detached aesthetic of Roger Fry: 'It is Ruskin's special distinction . . . to have shown how the experience of the senses can lead directly to that unified apprehension of nature, and of ourselves as part of nature, which can be fairly constantly recognised, under various mythological disguises, not only as that which gives value to aesthetic experience, but also as one of the major consolations of philosophy.' This is hardly a programme, but it indicates an approach. It may not, for all that, be the right approach, but Mr. Hough is surely right in arguing that 'imagist' literary theory achieved much less than it promised, and must now be supplanted. *Image and Experience* will be a valuable stimulus to fresh thinking.

J. B. BAMBOROUGH

Studies in Bibliography. Vol. XIII. Edited by FREDSON BOWERS. Pp. vi+290. Charlottesville: Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1960. \$6.00.

The main contributions to this volume deal with the text of the plays of Shakespeare and his contemporaries and provide fresh information about seventeenth-century printing. D. F. McKenzie has compiled a list of printers' apprentices, 1605-40, from the unprinted records of the Stationers' Company of London, arranged alphabetically under master printers, and providing what biographical information is available. Cyprian Blagden gives an account of the various

attempts of the printers, as shown by their petitions in 1628, 1651, and 1663, to escape from the undue influence and power of the booksellers in the Stationers' Company and form themselves into a separate company. He explains why they failed, though in their last attempt they had the support of L'Estrange; and a new charter was granted to the Stationers' Company in 1667.

Craig Ferguson demonstrates some refinements in the technique of compositor analysis, supporting the evidence of spelling habits (which often provide little more than probabilities) by conclusions which may be safely drawn from a careful examination of typographical details, such as the treatment of stage-directions, catchwords, and signatures or the absence of punctuation marks after speech-prefixes. Harold Jenkins examines the playhouse interpolations in the Folio text of *Hamlet* and notes the curious caution and timidity even of those editors who recognize in many of the Folio's extra words and phrases the additions of the actor. His comparison with the Quarto text of *Richard III*, generally recognized as a memorial transcription by the actors, certainly lends weight to his theory that the same kind of influence has been at work in the Folio *Hamlet*; and therefore its additions should be treated with less respect.

But there are some much more drastic proposals which all those who are concerned with editing old plays would do well to consider patiently. These are put forward by Mr. John Russell Brown of the University of Birmingham, and replied to by the new Joint Editor of the Malone Society, Mr. Arthur Brown. They raise the question whether we should continue the 'McKerrow' tradition, and try in our critical editions to reproduce, with the modifications required by the use of a modern type-face, the spelling, capitalization, and punctuation of the original. We know that in the seventeenth century most of the printed editions are more likely in these respects to represent the habits of the printer than those of the author. Yet they do at least set the work before us in the form in which it made its first impact upon contemporary readers, refined by the work of critical scholarship from the errors it may have originally contained. But there is no doubt that it is a bolder thing to do, to take a further step and transform the author's text into a completely modern shape in its spelling, punctuation, and typography. Such editions are obviously required. Why, asks Mr. J. R. Brown, do we need anything between such carefully edited modernized texts, suitable for both student and general reader, and photographic facsimiles of the earliest printed editions or manuscripts for the use of the textual scholar? Mr. Arthur Brown finds it difficult to control his horror and amusement at such naïve proposals, and has little difficulty in frightening us with the terrible dangers to which we expose ourselves whenever we rely upon the camera. But he is really a little old-fashioned. It will not be long before it is far too expensive to produce type-facsimiles in the manner of the Malone Society; indeed it may not be long before the use of type is no longer known in book production. And we shall have to learn to read the proofs of photographic plates as carefully as we read the proofs of type. If photographic facsimiles are properly edited, as they doubtless will be when they are at length adopted by the Malone Society, they cannot be any less satisfactory than type-facsimiles.

It is amusing to reflect that the writers whose works are being so carefully

edited would certainly have been much more concerned that they should be read today in modernized texts than preserved in those particular forms which they feared might make their books unreadable in later times. They would some of them have disliked modern scholarly editing as much as they disliked what they called the pedantry of scholarship in their own day. I am sure that eighteenth-century writers would have found it very odd that we should prefer to restore the first printed versions of their works rather than their latest revised editions. Arthur Friedman has, however, discovered a new and ingenious argument in favour of using the first edition as copytext rather than the latest revision, based upon a consideration of the state of mind of the editor, who 'wants to depart from his copytext as little as possible, and wants to include in the edited text all revisions made by the author'. Now when the first edition is chosen, the two considerations oppose each other, and force him to tackle each variant as a new problem to be solved instead of allowing everything to remain without challenge unless it is demonstrably a misprint or an error which can be traced to an earlier reprint. But some variants are so 'indifferent' that it is impossible to distinguish between changes made in the printing house and author's revisions. From his experience in editing the *Deserted Village*, he suggests that where a revised edition has been set from standing type, it is reasonable to suppose that all substantive changes must have been made by the author. I doubt whether we can make this assumption. And further I do not think it matters. Why should we concern ourselves in a revised text finally approved by the author, and printed by a good eighteenth-century printer, whether substantive changes—especially if they are 'indifferent readings'—were first made in the proofs by the author or the printer's reader? There are few authors today who do not sometimes accept a suggestion from the reader at the press. It is not necessary in the eighteenth century always to regard the printer's reader or even the compositor as the debasers of the author's text. Their errors we can check by collating the revised text with the copy they printed from. In all variants which were clearly intended to be improvements, we can never know whether they were the author's or whether—if they were made by the corrector or compositor—the author approved or overlooked them.

After reading Edgar Shannon's excellent account of the manuscripts, proofs, and printed versions of Tennyson's *Ode on the Death of Wellington*, one might be tempted to inquire whether the editor of a critical edition of Tennyson would be allowed to print from the latest revised text, or whether he would be expected to begin with the fragmentary manuscripts, and gradually fit on to them the lines that were added, and finally incorporate the subsequent revisions.

The shorter pieces include some admirable notes on the text of Johnson's *The False Alarm* and *Taxation No Tyranny* and Burns's *The Jolly Beggars*; and interesting reading-lists drawn up for Joseph Carrington Cabell by such distinguished advisers as Jefferson and Priestley. Such lists are often difficult to transcribe and to proof-read, but there are too many oddities like Suctonius, Claredon, Ceuvres de Rousseau, which may be errors of transcription, which should have been corrected or substantiated. The Check List contains more than 500 items of bibliographical scholarship for 1958.

HERBERT DAVIS

SHORT NOTICES

Beowulf. Reproduced in facsimile with a transliteration and notes by JULIUS ZUPITZA. Second edition containing a new reproduction of the Manuscript with an introductory note by NORMAN DAVIS. Pp. xxii+146+140 plates (Early English Text Society 245). London: Oxford University Press for the Society, 1959. 70s. net.

Improvements in the techniques of photography and reproduction have borne fruit during the last decade in the publication in facsimile of a notable series of manuscripts from the Anglo-Saxon period. Those who wish to study the sumptuous Swiss editions of the *Lindisfarne Gospels* or the *Book of Kells* may still have to travel far to find a copy, and even the less costly Copenhagen series of *Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile*, which include the Thorkelin transcripts and promise the whole of the *Beowulf* manuscript, will not be found in every university library. This new reproduction of the unique manuscript of *Beowulf* (British Museum MS. Cotton Vitellius A xv) can find its way to the private shelves of any scholar of the Anglo-Saxon period, let him but reflect that the price, for a transcription together with a photographic reproduction, is substantially less than that of a pound of tobacco.

This second edition of one of the most important publications of the Early English Text Society contains a completely new facsimile photographed by the official photographer of the British Museum and reproduced by the collotype process. Setting the new alongside the old, one's first impression may well be of admiration for the excellence of the photographs taken by Mr. Praetorius nearly eighty years ago, but this is not to disparage the new which do indeed show themselves on closer inspection to be superior in many points of detail. Here and there the extreme sensitiveness of camera lens and film does emphasize the texture of the vellum, as well as superficial blemishes upon it, in such a way as to reduce, in comparison with the older photographs, the contrast between the written and the unwritten parts of the page; but there are many other places, particularly along the damaged edges and on those pages which have been photographed by ultra-violet light, where the new photographs show themselves to be greatly superior. In its overall quality it seems unlikely that this reproduction will ever be surpassed, and certainly not at this price.

Zupitza's transliteration has been reproduced by photolithography and, in tribute once more to the quality of the first edition, it may be noted that Professor Davis has only been able to find one error in the copying of letters that are still clearly visible. Zupitza was, however, less accurate in his collation of the two Thorkelin transcripts and on this head Mr. Davis has been able to compile a substantial list of *corrigenda* in his introductory note. This note also contains detailed discussion, including the opinions of Professor A. H. Smith, Professor J. C. Pope, and Mr. N. R. Ker, of fol. 182 and fol. 201^v. On every count this is a book of the first importance not only for the student of *Beowulf* in particular, but also for the encouragement of Anglo-Saxon studies in general.

PETER HUNTER BLAIR

English Vernacular Hands from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Centuries.

By C. E. WRIGHT. Pp. xx+24+24 plates (Oxford palaeographical handbooks). Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960. 35s. net.

This handbook will be of great value to supervisors in training students for research on Middle English, especially in universities where there is no formal instruction in palaeography. It offers twenty-four well-chosen plates with transcriptions, and all the necessary

additional information (on contractions, &c.) is given in an introduction to each plate and summarized in the general introduction, where there is also a discussion of the literary use of the vernacular in England in the later Middle Ages. The weakest feature of the book is the lack of any explanation of the history of the script, and the author indeed confesses that he does not even explain the technical terms (e.g. court-hand) which he uses. The student is not helped to formulate the development to be traced in the plates, for hints such as 'strongly influenced by court-hand' can only be unreal in the absence of any illustration or discussion of court-hand. Still less is any indication given of the history of insular and Caroline writing in England in the period before that covered by this book, essential as some knowledge of this is to understand the nature of the twelfth-century hands here placed before the reader.

The above criticisms amount to little more than to say that the book is not complete in itself, and hence the decision not to reprint Sir E. M. Thompson's *Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography* is to be regretted, for only with the background provided by a good general history of palaeography can a specialized guide to one period in one country be used with profit. The star placed against Thompson's work in Dr. Wright's bibliography emphasizes its value in explaining technical terms, but in many other respects it remains a necessity.

In a second edition of the work under review, a few slips and omissions might be removed. On p. x, D and E as sigla for manuscripts of the *Old English Chronicle* are confused: Tib. B iv is said to be 'usually cited' as E, and the Laud MS. as D. In the introduction to plate I, Cecily Clark's separate edition of the late annals of the *Peterborough Chronicle* (Oxford, 1958), might well have been mentioned. In the introduction to plate XV, it should be noticed that all four poems of the *Gawain* manuscripts have illustrations, not *Gawain* and *Pearl* only. The transcriptions, also, would benefit by a thorough revision.

A. CAMPBELL

Italian Renaissance Studies. A tribute to the late Cecilia M. Ady. Edited by E. F. JACOB. Pp. 508. London: Faber and Faber, 1960. 63s. net.

While this memorial *corolla* naturally allows central place to administrative and archival studies, it does serve to bring out those aspects of the Renaissance which now seem to provide a key to the times, and to the productions of the times; and it strikingly demonstrates the complementarity of all our efforts to interpret an epoch as complex as this.

If we are no longer in danger of oversimplifying the relationship of the Renaissance to its medieval past, it is in part because of our better understanding of how the cult of the revival of antiquity actually manifested itself, in iconography and in imitation. The raw urge of a Cyriac of Ancona to uncover the classical *virtù* almost literally, flowers quite unforced, as Charles Mitchell shows here in a graceful study, in the cabalism and allegorizing of the *Hypnerotomachia Polifili*. When antiquity congeals into a way of life it sets in the familiar mould of the moral type; and that idealization of martial virtues which was to haunt theorists of the heroic poem looms so compulsively that it can suggest to another contributor a reason for the paradox of the failure of Italian arms, and nerve, in an epoch of glorification of—idealized—war. Michelangelo apotheosizes the will to outdo antiquity on its own ground; but exegesis of the flower of his art demands an iconographical erudition and a theological subtlety of the order of Professor Wind's, here brought to bear with irresistible authority on the Sistine medallions.

At the same time, one cannot discount the overt contempt for the barbarous centuries freely voiced from Petrarch on. It was concern for the amendment of a thousand years of corruption that deified Cicero, and erected imitation into a dogma—even if, as Professor Grayson cogently argues, extra-Tuscan desire to petrify the Florentine of Boccaccio and Petrarch into a *lingua comune* reinforced the parallel myth of the *buon secolo della lingua*, and annexed Bembo's notion of the 'apartness' of the good style to the doctrine of literary imitation. And imitation, as we are now coming to see, was central to much that we esteem

in Renaissance representation, as well as much that we conventionally dismiss untried. Not the least virtue of John Sparrow's survey here of a vast body of High Renaissance verse in Latin is that in offering a proper understanding of imitation as a corrective to just such blanket dismissals, it provides a demonstration of the need at least to take artistry seriously.

The devoted scholarship which these studies fittingly exemplify makes a cruel foil to any less stringent approach. Sir Maurice Bowra's essay on the *canzoni a ballo* and the *canti carnascialeschi* leaves one with little more than regret for a rare opportunity lost. The reader with the texts at hand will find much to puzzle him in the readings he is offered here.

A. J. SMITH

Elizabethan Prose Translation. Edited by JAMES WINNY. Pp. xxii+152. Cambridge: University Press, 1960. Library Edition, 15s. net; School Edition, 12s. 6d.

This book is made up of short passages from three courtesy books, three treatises covering philosophical or scientific subjects, three tales, North's Plutarch, Holland's Livy and his Pliny's *Natural History*, and Florio's Montaigne. About half of the translations represented are readily accessible in modern editions, and Mr. Winny's purpose is not to resurrect rarities, but to illustrate the intellectual interests of the Elizabethans and the vigour of their prose style. In his introduction he draws attention to the freedom English translators permitted themselves—quite apart from inaccuracies caused by inadequate dictionaries—and illustrates, by comparison with Montaigne's own words, Florio's constant distortion of his original and his tiresome habit of doubling epithets. Whilst one can agree that much of so-called 'original' Elizabethan prose turns out on investigation to be in fact translation, Mr. Winny perhaps does less than justice to the welcome restraint on native exuberance imposed by their texts on translators when he suggests that a collection of translations can provide a conspectus of Elizabethan prose style. The manifest superiority of the prose in the extracts from North's Plutarch and Holland's Livy as compared with the rather dreary passages from Newton's translation of Lemnius, *The Touchstone of Complexions*, and from William Jones's translation of Nenna, *A Treatise of Nobility*, may owe something to the splendour of the two classical originals.

As the original texts are not included in this book, the demonstration of the Elizabethan art of translation is confined to the introduction. But the reader will find a fair indication of the sort of books that were read in sixteenth-century England, and Mr. Winny is to be congratulated on the way he has chosen his extracts—particularly those from fiction and from Roman history—to form complete episodes. A short headnote gives information about each author and translator, and difficult words are glossed at the foot of the page with an admirable conciseness, which, however, has led to some oddities such as the lumping together of Orpheus and Amphion as 'musicians who by force of their music compelled stones to move and form a wall'. Spelling and punctuation have been silently modernized.

JEAN ROBERTSON

Shakespeare and Five Acts. By HENRY L. SNUGGS. Pp. 144. New York: Vantage Press, 1960. \$3.50.

T. W. Baldwin's immense book on Shakespeare's five-act structure (1947) comes under fire once more, and the attack is shrewdly planned. First we are reminded that Horace's five-act rule (for tragedy) is 'not based on the typical practice of the Greek dramatists whose plays are extant' (p. 19); next, that modern classical scholars 'have shown that Terence's comedies do not typically have four vacant stages' (p. 22); then, and this is the decisive

putsch, Dr. Snuggs argues (in direct contradiction of Baldwin) that after the Willichius-Wagner edition of *Andria* the commentators by no means accepted the five-act structure as the plot-structure (pp. 30 ff.). A survey of Elizabethan stage conditions and of the structure of four plays follows, leading to the final judgement (p. 117) that Shakespeare's plays were originally written and performed without act-pauses (with three possible exceptions: *Henry V*, *Coriolanus*, and *Henry VIII*, where Dr. Snuggs defers to 'textual scholarship' (pp. 55-59, 115-16)).

Yet, even if the Renaissance critics failed to correlate their five acts to plot structure, is it not possible that Shakespeare, in his own plays, and perhaps in only a few cases, tried and succeeded? As a boy he must have dipped into Latin five-act texts, and upon this hint he could plan a five-part structure, not necessarily on the Graeco-Roman model. Granville-Barker, though unsympathetic to the Folio divisions as a whole, saw clearly that 'to begin a new act upon a new note' would be theatrically desirable—and that in *Julius Caesar* 'each act of the five has a significant and striking beginning, while the ends of the first four all tail away' (*Prefaces*, i (1948 edn.), p. 91). Admirably as Dr. Snuggs presents the case for classical and Renaissance theory and practice, Shakespeare might think the matter out for himself—and might change his mind. If so, we shall do well to trust Granville-Barker's instinct, and to judge the structure of each play on its own merits.

E. A. J. HONIGMANN

John Milton: A Bibliographical Supplement, 1929-1957. Compiled by CALVIN HUCKABAY. Pp. xii+212. Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press; Louvain: Nauwelaerts, 1960. \$6.25.

In 1930 D. H. Stevens produced his useful *Reference Guide to Milton*, a complete Milton bibliography for 1800 to 1928; the next year H. F. Fletcher produced a supplement, *Contributions to a Milton Bibliography, 1800-1930*. The present volume carries the record down to 1957. Professor Huckabay says: 'Although Fletcher collected data for 1929-30, I have included material published in those years so that students of Milton may conveniently check only one bibliography for items which have appeared since 1928.' This presumably means that he has incorporated Fletcher's material, together with any additions of his own, for those years. Such a bibliography is a necessary tool for Milton students, which needs to be brought up to date periodically. The present volume maintains the high standard in comprehensiveness and accuracy of its predecessors. In a preliminary review I have noted no errors, and the only omission I have spotted is that of Edmund Blunden's translation of *Epitaphium Damonis* (surely the best) in 'Some Seventeenth-Century Latin Poems by English Writers' (*University of Toronto Quarterly*, xxv (1955-6), 16-22). In his preface Mr. Huckabay refers to W. R. Parker's eagerly awaited biography as 'definitive': I doubt whether Professor Parker himself thinks of it as a biography to end all Milton biographies, however much that may be a consummation devoutly to be wished. Mr. Huckabay's classification of the material follows Stevens; but in ordering the items within the divisions he says that he has departed from Stevens's 'chronological-alphabetical order of compilation for the more convenient alphabetical order', except for editions and translations, which are listed chronologically. But Stevens's order is practically chronological, and it is surely better to have one principle throughout. Mr. Huckabay introduces one useful innovation, however, in citing reviews of items, although his method of selecting the reviews and deciding on their number seems erratic: in some cases which I have tested less competent reviews are preferred to the more competent; and there seems no need to cite, as he always does, the necessarily brief notices in the *Year's Work in English Studies*, which one knows to be there to be consulted as desired.

B. A. WRIGHT

Wordsworthian Criticism 1945-1959. An Annotated Bibliography. By ELTON F. HENLEY with the assistance of DAVID H. STAM. Pp. 64. New York: Public Library, 1960. \$2.00.

This handy pamphlet 'is intended to supplement the bibliographical portion of Professor James Venable Logan's *Wordsworthian Criticism: A Guide and Bibliography* (1947)', and follows the principles of that useful work. It contrives to be admirably up to date, listing reviews as well as books and articles published up to the end of 1959. Almost all items are summarized at a useful length, a 'Topical Analysis of Entries' stands early in the book, and a full index concludes it. In general, it should save the Wordsworthian scholar time and effort usually employed in consulting bibliographies of wider scope; there are, however, occasional lapses from accuracy and completeness. In the 'Topical Analysis', under 'Bibliographical', delete '207'; under 'General Criticism', delete '165'; under 'Sources and Analogues', insert '282'; under 'Prose Works', insert '49', and for '181a' read '183'. Mr. J. B. Leishman appears twice as 'L. B. Leishman' (items 96, 141). In item 267, for 'printing' read 'publishing'. The title of item 268 is inaccurately reproduced. Three notes by this reviewer which seem to come within the limits suggested by the preface (*N. & Q.*, cxci. 429-30; cxv. 209-10; *N.S.*, iv. 254-5), and his authorship of another (item 290), are omitted.

W. J. B. OWEN

The Irish Novelists 1800-1850. By THOMAS FLANAGAN. Pp. xiv+362. New York: Columbia University Press, 1959; London: Oxford University Press, 1960. 54s. net.

This unusually well-written book deals with the principal Irish novelists of the early nineteenth century: Maria Edgeworth, Lady Morgan, John Banim, Gerald Griffin, and William Carleton. Of these writers and their lesser contemporaries Yeats, in letters quoted by Mr. Flanagan, wrote many years ago: 'The old men tried to make one see life plainly but all written down in a kind of fiery shorthand that it might never be forgotten.' And, again: 'There is a great want for a just verdict on these men and their use for Ireland.' Mr. Flanagan's book not only interprets the shorthand with success but supplies an historical background which explains why it had to be fiery and recreates the life which the 'old men' wanted to be seen plain. In a dispassionate survey of their lives and works and times he has given a just verdict not only on them and their use for Ireland, but on the value of their novels as literature. The reader is left to wonder why Ireland, which so much treasures the rights and wrongs of its past, does not reprint its literary monuments.

D. M. DAVIN

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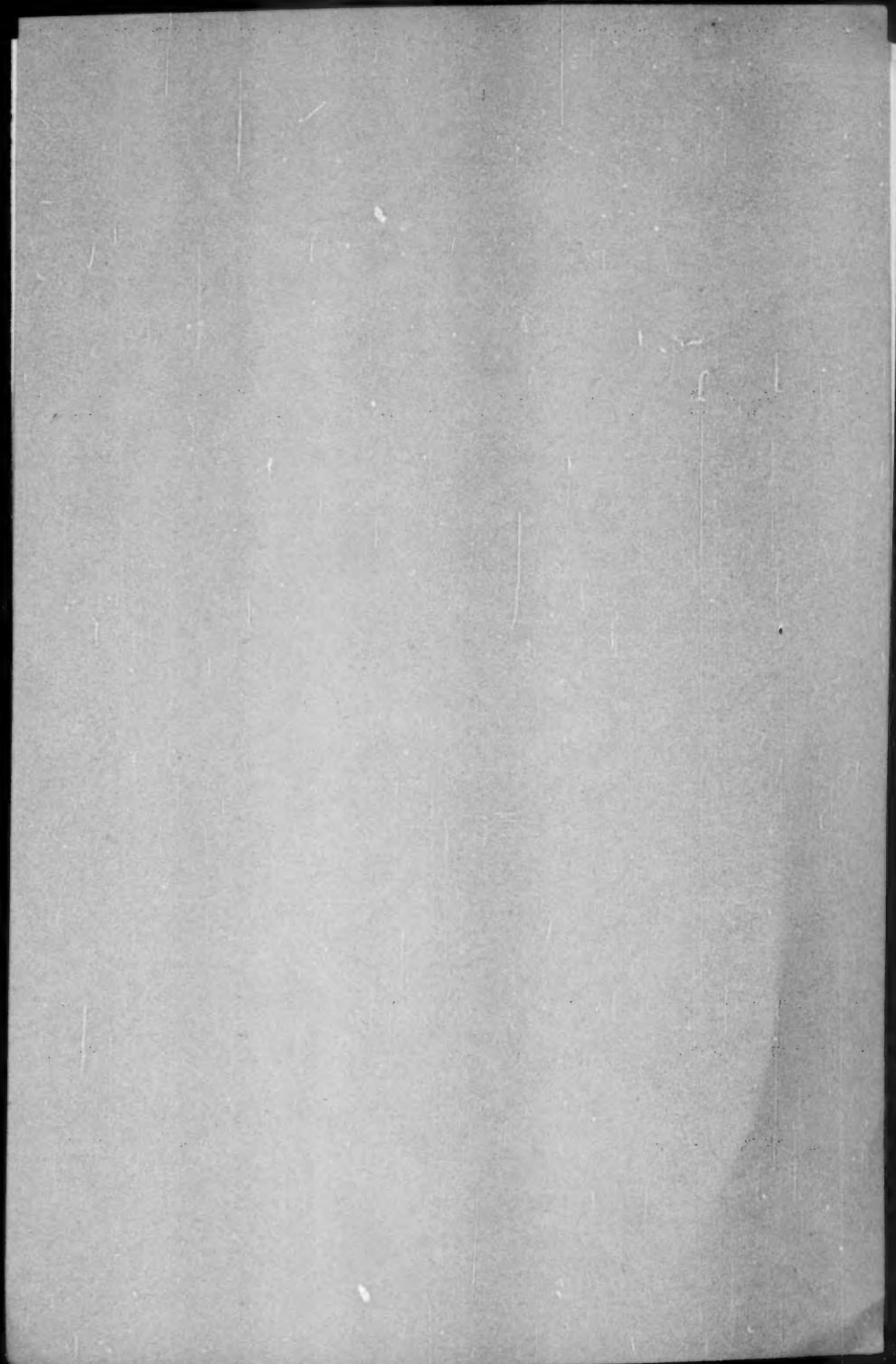
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study group	1926	sub-microscopical	1953
stuff, do one's	1922	sub-miniature	1947
stuff, know one's	1937	sub-nasal	1882
stuffed shirt (colloq.; U.S. quotes.)	1914	sub-phonemic	1935
stuffed shirt (colloq.; U.K. quotes.)	1943	sub-routine (Computers)	1959
stiffness (= primness, &c.)	1930	subscriber (= telephone ~)	1879
style, v. (= to design, of dresses, &c.)	1946	subsistence level	1936
styled, ppl. a. (modern exx.)	1958	sub-song (Ornithology)	1927
styling, vbl. sb. (designing of clothes, vehicles, &c.)	1939	subsonic	1940
stylist (designer of clothes, &c.)	1928	sub-standard	1909
sub-category	1920	substitutability	1922
sub-chaser (= submarine chaser)	1932	sub-stratosphere	1937
sub-climax (Ecology)	1916	sub-stratum (Philology)	1933
sub-clinical	1954	subversive, sb. (a ~ person)	1927
sub-critical (Nuclear Science)	1950	sub-vocal	1895
sub-cultural	1933	successor state (= succession state)	1930
sub-culture (Sociology, &c.)	1937	success story	1943
sub-deb	1921	Sudanese (of language; also com- pounds)	1921
sub-debutante	1934	Sudanic	1934
sub-flight (Aeronautics, subdivision of a flight)	1941	sugar daddy	1931
sublimational	1934	sugar soap	1940
sublimatory, adj. (Psycho-analysis)	1943	suicide aircraft, plane &c.	1940
subliminal advertising	1957	suicide pilot	1945
sub-linguistic	1933	suicide squad	1937
sub-literary	1955	sulpha (esp. in ~ drug; also sulfa)	1944
sub-machine-gun	1943	sulphadiazine	1940
sub-marginal (of land, production, &c.)	1930	sulphamethazine	1942
submarine chaser	1933	sulphapyridine	1940
submarine pen	1945	sulphathiazole	1939
		sulphonamide	1910
		summatively	1936

summit (Politics, usu. attrib.)	1956	surreal	1957
summiteer (Politics)	1958	surrealistic	1934
summitry (Politics)	1958	surrealistically	1934
sumo (Japan)	1923	surveillance (Radar)	1951
Sunday painter	1952	sus (slang abbrev. of suspect)	1958
Sunday painting	1952	swacked (= drunk)	1934
sundries (Cricket)	1867	swagger (as style of coat)	1934
sun-glasses	1927	swan, v. (Military, also ~ round)	1942
sun-suit	1929	swan, sb. (from last word)	1947
superannuable	1958	swankily	1940
super-cinema	1923	swankpot	1927
superconducting, ppl. a.	1935	Swazi	1897
superconduction		sweat-cooling (Aeronautics)	1950
superconductive	1934	sweater girl	1949
superconductivity	1922	sweat shirt	1932
superconductor	1931	sweat suit	1951
supercooled, ppl. a.	1910	sweep, sb. (progress of spot on cathode ray tube)	1934
super-critical (Nuclear Science)	1950	sweep, sb. (sortie by aircraft)	1941
super-duper	1942	sweep, v. (as above)	1941
super-egoist	1932	sweepback, sb. (Aeronautics)	1918
super-egoistic	1937	sweep-forward, sb. (Aeronautics)	1933
super-elevating (of roads)	1937	sweet, adj. (of modern music)	1927
super-elevation (of roads)	1937	sweet-and-sour (Cookery)	1932
super-essentiality	1953	sweetie-pie	1928
super-giant (Astronomy)	1933	sweet-sour (Cookery)	1943
supergrid	1957	swell (as interj.)	1930
super-heavy (Nuclear Science)	1955	swept-back (esp. of wings)	1918
super-highway	1925	swept volume (I.C. engines)	1918
superiority complex	1934	swept-wing	1947
supermarket	1938	swim-suit	1934
supermart	1954	swindle-sheet (colloq.)	1936
supernationalist	1942	swing, sb. (Music)	1935
supernova (Astronomy)	1936	swing, v. (Music)	1935
super-realism (= surrealism)	1934	swing, v. (= swing the starting handle)	1938
super-reality (as above)	1938	swigster (Music)	1937
supersound, sb.	1944	swingy	1934
superstructure (Marxist sense)	1904	switch, sb. (= change)	1935
supertanker	1957	switch, v. (of racehorses)	
supporting film, programme	1948	switch, v. (of shares; Stock Exchange)	1932
suppress, v. (counteract electrical interference)	1929	switch-blade (knife)	1957
suppressor (as above)	1930	sylvatic plague	1951
suppressor grid (Thermionics)	1931	symphonic ballet	1957
supra-nationalism	1921	synaesthetic	1927
supra-nationality	1930	synchro, sb.	1949
suprasegmental (Linguistics)	1941	synchroflash (Photography)	1953
suprasegmentally	1957	synchronistic (Linguistics)	1949
suprematism (Art)	1945	synchronous (Linguistics)	1936
suprematist, adj. (Art)	1958	synchroscope	1911
suprematist, sb. (Art)	1945	syncretism (Linguistics)	1920
supremo	1958	syndiotactic (polymer)	1957
surboard	1931	synergism (other than in Theology)	1934
surface, v. (of a submarine)	1934	synthetic, sb. (= artificially-made fibre)	1934
surface, v. (fig.)	1958		
surface-active agent, material, &c.	1926	T.A.B. (vaccine)	1929
surface mail	1948	T.B.S. (= Talk Between Ships)	1944
surface-to-air, attrib.	1957	T.T. (= tuberculin-tested)	1938
surface-to-surface, attrib.	1958		
surface wave	1912	tab (auxiliary flap; Aeronautics)	1934
surfactant	1959	tab (slang = cigarette)	1948
surf-rider	1928		
surge tank	1920		

tab (curtain) (Theatre)	1936	tanker (road vehicle, as milk ~; U.K. quotes.)	1947
tabloid, v.	1933	tankette	1927
tachism(e) (Art)	1956	tank farm	1934
tachist(e), adj.	1956	tank farming	1937
tachist(e), sb.	1909	tankhead (= spearhead of tanks)	1945
tachistoscopic	1931	tank trap	1925
tacho-generator	1952	tank (up) (= refuel)	1933
tack, sb. (= equipment of a horse)	1942	tap-dancer	1932
tactical (of air-bombing or aeroplanes)	1941	tape, sb. (= tape-recording)	1958
tactoid, sb. (Physical Chemistry)	1937	tape, v. (= tape-record)	1953
tag along (with)	1935	tape-record, v.	1955
tagged atom, isotope, &c. (Nuclear Science)	1941	tape-recorder	1932
tagliatelli, -e	1934	tape-recording (process)	1940
tag-line (U.S.)	1942	tape-recording (steel tape itself)	1941
tagmeme (Philology)	1933	target (= objective, goal, &c.)	1942
tail, sb. (of a person 'shadowing' another)	1932	target area	1940
tail, sb. (bit of ~; low slang = girl)	1955	target boat, ship	1934
tail-buffering (Aeronautics)	1931	tarmac (runway on aerodrome)	1921
tail-comb	1930	tartare sauce	1951
tail-fin (on motor-car)	1958	tarted up, ppl. a.	1938
tail-finned (as above)	1959	tartish (of a woman, often one of immoral character)	1944
tail gas	1948	tart up, v.	1952
tail-gate (of a lorry)	1957	tarty, adj.	1946
tail-gunner	1939	Tasian (culture)	1931
tailism (Communist term)	1952	task force	1942
tailor-made, adj. & sb. (of a cigarette)	1934	task group	1943
taipan (Australian snake)	1935	tasso (British Guiana)	1934
taipan (foreign business-man in China)	1947	tat (= tatty person)	1936
take, sb. (= successful graft, &c.)	1903	tatpurusha compound (Philology)	1933
take, v. (of successful skin or bone graft)	1955	tattily	1957
take (have what it ~s, everything it ~s, &c.)	1942	tattiness	
take-home pay	1950	tatty, adj. (modern non-dialectal quotes.)	1932
take it, be able to (= endure punishment)	1934	taunt song	1906
take-off, power (transmission system in engine)	1928	tautologicality	1936
take-over, sb.	1932	tax certificate (U.K. quotes.)	1940
take over, v. (as used by broadcast announcer)	1933	taxemic (Philology)	1933
take-over bid	1955	taxemic	1953
take-over bidder	1958	taxi track (Aeronautics)	1951
take (one) up on (of a point in argument, &c.)	1948	taxiway (Aeronautics)	1939
talent scout	1936	T-bone (steak)	1934
talk-back circuit, system, &c. (Telephony)	1940	tea (slang = marijuana)	1938
talk down (a pilot) (Aeronautics)	1940	tea-boy (in non-Irish contexts)	1955
talk-down system, equipment, &c. (as above)	1951	tea break	1948
talking book	1934	team, v. (= match, &c.; Fashion)	1948
talking point	1922	team-mate	1934
tamber (anglicized spelling of 'timbre')	1923	tear-jerker	1940
tango (a colour)	1922	teart (cattle disease)	1939
tanka (Japanese verse form)	1931	tea-towel	1944
tank-borne (of troops, &c.)	1942	tea-trolley	1949
tank-buster	1941	tea-wagon (small table on wheels)	1939
tank circuit (Radio)	1934	technicolour (in transferred senses)	1945
tanker (Aeronautics)	1938	technicoloured, adj.	1949
		technologically	1861
		technologized, ppl. a.	
		tectonics, sb. pl. (branch of geology)	1930
		Ted (= Teddy boy)	1958
		Teddy (as above)	1958
		Teddy boy	1955
		Teddy-boyish	

Teddy-boyism	1959	territory, & derivs. (Ornithology)	1920
Teddy girl	1958	terror bombing	1941
Teddyism		terry cloth	1934
tediosity (modern quot.; O.E.D.-- 1612)	1934	terry towel	1947
teenage, adj.	1935	test bed (Engineering)	1934
teen-aged, adj.	1954	testee (person subject to test)	1933
teenager	1941	test-fire, v.	1956
tee-shirt (= T-shirt)	1958	test flight	1924
teething stage, troubles, &c. (transf. sense)	1937	test-fly, v.	1942
teknonym (Ethnology)	1954	testing-ground	1872
tektite (kind of meteorite)	1934	test pilot	1920
tele (abbrev. of television)	1949	test-tube baby	1937
telect, sb.	1940	tetrachoric (Statistics)	1934
telect, v.	1937	tetra-ethyl (lead)	1925
telectaster	1940	text-book, attrib.	1936
telecine, -ciné	1937	theatre-in-the-round	1951
tele-cinema	1930	theelin (Biochemistry)	1934
telecommunication	1934	theme song	1929
telecontrol	1936	thermal, sb. (ascending current of warm air)	1933
telefilm	1950	thermal neutron	1949
telegenic	1940	thermal power station	1957
telemeter, sb. (for pay-as-you-view TV)	1955	thermal reactor	1950
telemeter, v.	1934	thermionic emission	1922
telemetering, vbl. sb.	1935	thermionics	1918
telemetry	1920	thermistor	1940
telemine (Military)	1943	thermonuclear	1942
telephone pad	1932	thermonuclear age	1959
teleport, v. (Science Fiction)	1955	thermonuclear bomb	1958
teleportage (as above)	1956	thermonuclear energy	1958
teleportation (as above)	1955	thermonuclear reaction	1944
teleprinter	1929	thermonuclear reactor	1958
teleprompt, v.	1958	thermonuclear war	1955
telerradium	1937	thermonuclear warhead	1957
telerecord, v.	1956	thermonuclear weapon	1955
telerecording, vbl. sb.	1953	thermoplastic, sb.	1933
telescreen	1948	thermoset, sb.	1958
televise, v.	1951	thermosetting, ppl. a. (Plastics)	1940
televise, vbl. sb.	1935	thiamine	1909
televise, vbl. sb.	1935	thick end of the stick, &c. (fig.)	1938
televise, vbl. sb.	1933	thing (= issue, make a ~ of some- thing)	1934
televisionary	1928	thing (= obsession, esp. have a ~ about)	1936
television receiver	1927	thing-word	1876
television screen	1937	thin red line (fig.)	1944
televise, v.	1934	thin white line (fig.)	
televise, vbl. sb.	1957	thiouracil	1905
tell (you're telling me!)	1935	Third, the (= ~ Programme)	1953
teller mine	1943	third-dimensional	1934
telly (abbrev. of television)	1942	thixotropic	1927
telocentric (Genetics)	1949	thixotropy	1927
temper tantrum	1934	thought control	1939
templet, template, (transf., Biology)	1958	thought-process	1889
tendenz (Literary Criticism)	1917	thought-provoking	1929
tenderize (of meat)	1935	thought-world	1949
tenderometer	1938	three-dimensionality	1926
tephigram (Meteorology)	1929	three-line whip	1958
terminal, sb. (other than railway; U.K. quot.)	1921	three-pointer (= three-point landing)	1932
terminal velocity (Dynamics)	1867	three-ring(ed) circus	1913
terrace-house	1935	three-stage (rocket)	1936
		three-valued system, &c. (Philosophy)	1933

threonine (Biochemistry)	1937	tingle (whelk ~)	1931
threshold (Radiation)	1951	tinkle, sb. (= telephone call)	1939
threshold, cruising (Aeronautics)	1950	tin-pan alley	1914
threshold light(ing) (Aeronautics)	1937	tip speed (Aeronautics)	1945
threshold of audibility	1922	tissue (soft paper = face-tissue, &c.)	1929
threshold of hearing	1932	tissue culture (Biology)	1915
thrillerish	1957	tissue dosage, dose (radium treatment of disease)	1937
throat microphone	1946	tit (Service Slang = button)	1942
thromboplastin (Biochemistry)	1912	titchy, adj. (small)	
throttle back	1932	titfer (rh; ming slang = hat)	1933
throttle down	1932	title (Athletics, Boxing, &c., as 100 metres ~)	1933
through (U.S. as in 'Monday through Wednesday')	1940	title (= book)	1932
throughaway, thruway (U.S.)	1934	title (= credit-title, sub-title, &c., Cinema)	1922
throw a fit (U.K. quotes; cf. O.E.D. 18)	1930	title-piece	1936
throw a party	1922	tizz, sb. (= tizzy)	1957
throw a switch	1940	tizzy, sb. (state of agitation; U.K. quotes.)	1955
throwaway, adj. (Theatre, ~ humour, line, &c.)	1958	tizzy up	1958
throw away, v. (Theatre; speak lines with conscious under-emphasis)	1945	T-junction (on a road)	1958
throw away (one's wicket)	1898	toast Melba	1930
throw down (a wicket)	1860	tobacco mosaic (virus)	1928
thrower (apparatus for throwing depth-charges)	1939	tocopherol (Biochemistry)	1936
thumb a lift (U.S. quotes.)	1934	toe (on one's ~s = alert)	1926
thumb a lift (U.K. quotes.)	1939	toehold (fig.)	1918
thyrotoxicosis	1926	toe-in, sb. (of wheels)	1930
thyrotrop(h)ic (hormone)	1930	toe in, v. (as above)	1930
thyrotropin	1944	toe-out, sb. (as above)	1930
tiare (Tahitian flower)	1914	toe-puff (of a shoe)	1940
Tibeto-Chinese	1910	toe-to-toe, attrib.	1958
tick, sb. (= applied derisively to a person; isolated 1631 quot. in O.E.D.)	1909	toffee-apple	1925
tick, v. (= function; colloq.)	1942	toffee-nose, sb. (slang)	1943
tick, v. (of a taxi-meter)	1938	toffee-nosed	1925
tickety-boo	1939	toffishness	1876
ticking-off, vbl. sb. (= reprimand)	1950	toile de Jouy	1934
tickle, sb. (Cricket)		toilet club	1884
tickle, sb. (Thieves' slang)	1955	toilet jug	1902
tickled pink	1930	toilet roll	1934
tick over (fig.)	1954	toilet training	1950
tick-over, sb.	1931	token force (Military)	1958
tidal (of traffic; ~ flow, &c.)	1955	token resistance	1953
tiddl(e)y (= neat, smart, ship-shape)	1925	token strike	1947
tied garage	1957	tokonoma (Japan)	1920
tie in with (fig.)	1938	tola (African wood)	1955
tie-line (Telephony)	1924	tolerance dose, limit (Radiology)	1950
tightwad (U.K. quotes.)	1928	tomcat, v. (slang)	1932
tigon (offspring of tiger and lioness)	1932	tommy bar (Engineering)	1920
tiles, on the (slang)	1887	Tommy's) cooker	1917
time-and-motion analysis, study, &c.	1950	tommy-gun, v.	1942
time-base (of a cathode-ray tube)	1931	Tommy-gunner	1942
time-consuming	1906	tomogram (Medicine)	1955
time-factor	1931	tomographic	1953
time-flow	1936	tomography	1937
time-lapse (Photography)	1937	ton (slang = 100 m.p.h.)	1959
time-scale	1923	tone control (Wireless)	1930
time-span	1934	toneme (Linguistics)	1934
time-travelling	1934	tonemic	1948
		tone-row (Music)	1958
		tonetic (Linguistics)	1922
		Tongan ((of) inhabitant of Tonga)	1895

tonic (= tonic-water)	1915	traffic controller (Aeronautics)	1938
tonic-water	1940	traffic engineering	1959
tooth (have, put teeth in it; fig.)	1936	traffic island	1951
toothily	1930	traffic jam	1923
top brass (applied to persons)	1954	traffic light(s)	1930
top copy (Typing)		traffic warden	1960
topectomy	1948	trahison des clerics	1952
top-flight, attrib.	1939	trail, v. (to be losing in a game)	1957
top-level, attrib.	1954	trailing edge (Aeronautics)	1916
top priority	1957	trainer (aircraft)	1932
top-ranking, adj.	1954	train-spotter	1958
tops, (the) (= of topmost quality)	1937	train-spotting	1958
top-secret, adj.	1945	trait-name (Psychology)	1936
torch-singer	1934	Traminer	1911
torch song	1932	tramline (Lawn tennis)	
torpedo bomber	1932	tramp, sb. (dissolute woman)	1939
torquemeter	1926	trampolinist	1843
torsiograph	1930	trance-voice	1938
torsion bar (in a car)	1937	tranche (Economics)	1935
toss, argue the	1925	tranchet (axe)	1899
totalitarianism	1934	tranquillizer (specif., a sedative)	1956
total war	1940	tranquillizing drug	1955
totsy (slang = woman)	1938	transceiver	1934
totty (also tottic) (slang = woman)	1897	transconductance	1934
touchdown, sb. (of aircraft)	1935	transcribe, v. (Broadcasting)	
touch down, v. (of aircraft)	1942	transcription (Broadcasting)	1940
touch-kicking (Rugby Football)	1936	transcrystalline (failure) (Metallurgy)	1930
touch off, v. (fig.; cause something to start)	1934	transducer	1931
tough guy	1932	transductor (Electricity)	1948
toughie, sb. (= last word)	1936	transect, sb.	1905
tough-minded	1933	transfer machine (Automation)	
tourist (= ~ class, on ships)	1937	transient, sb. (Electrical Communication)	1931
tourist class	1937	transistor	1948
tournedos	1906	transistorization	1959
tout court	1920	transistorized, ppl. a.	1955
tower crane	1940	transit camp	1946
town, go to (slang = give it all one's got)	1936	transitron (Thermionics)	1940
town centre	1958	translationese	1957
town gas	1930	translocation (Genetics)	1936
tow-plane	1940	transmission loss (Electrical Communication)	1922
trace element	1940	transmutation (Nuclear Physics, of elements)	1925
tracer (labelled, radioactive, &c., ~; ~element, &c.)	1938	transonic, trans-sonic	1946
track, sb. (Aeronautics; projection of flight path on earth's surface)	1932	transport café	1958
track, sb. (path of ionizing particle)	1911	transuranic	1935
track, sb. (= sound-track)	1931	transuranium (element)	1938
track, v. intr. (of film or TV camera)	1937	transvesticism	1937
tracking, vbl. sb. (Electricity)	1932	transvestism	1934
track-laying (of vehicles; mod. sense)	1920	transvestite	1922
track rod (in a motor-car)	1926	transvestitist	1936
track suit (Athletics)	1955	trap-shyness	1947
trad (= traditional jazz)	1957	treble chance (Football Pools)	
trade journal	1929	treedozzer	1949
trade paper	1934	tree-ring	1937
trading estate	1937	trepanger	1913
traditionalist (Jazz)	1951	trepanging, vbl. sb.	1913
traditional jazz	1955	tribophysics	1950
traffic (Telephony)	1872	trichlorethylene	1930
trafficator	1935	trichromat, sb.	1934
		trichrome, adj.	1918

trick-cyclist (slang = psychiatrist)	1930	T-shirt	1949
tricks, how's (colloq.; U.K. quots.)	1936	T-shirted	
tricorni (Mountaineering)	1920	tsotsi (S. Africa)	1949
tricycle undercarriage (Aeronautics)	1938	tsunami (Japan)	1905
trigger, v.	1934	Tswana (Bechuanaland)	1948
trigger circuit (Electricity)	1939	tubbable	1929
trigger-happiness	1945	tube (= wireless, &c., valve)	1915
trigger-happy	1944	Tudorbethan	1933
triggering, vbl. sb.	1944	tug (aircraft) (one towing a glider)	1931
trigger off, v.	1947	tumbler drier	1951
trilobe (= trilobate)	1920	turbo-jet	1945
trim, sb. (Aeronautics = inclination to the horizontal)	1919	turbo-prop	1947
trim, v. (Aeronautics = adjust inclination, &c.)	1909	turbo-propeller	1947
trimmer (Aeronautics = trimming tab)	1935	turbo-ram-jet	1951
trimmer (Electricity = small capacitor)	1932	turn-off, sb. (road-turning)	1894
trimming, vbl. sb. (Electricity)	1943	turn-over article (in a newspaper)	1957
trimming condenser	1930	turtle-neck (sweater)	1933
trimming gear (Aeronautics)	1928	turtle-necked	1937
trimming tab (Aeronautics)	1935	tutu (skirt worn by ballet dancer)	1935
tripe-hound (of journalists, &c.)	1928	tux (abbrev. of tuxedo)	1922
trisha(w) (kind of rickshaw)	1953	TV (abbrev. of television)	1948
trisomic (Genetics)	1934	twat (slang, disparagingly of a person)	1950
Tristanesque	1942	tweed, ppl. a.	1927
tritium	1934	tweediness	1958
triton (nucleus of tritium)	1951	tweeter (small loudspeaker)	1934
trivia, sb. pl.	1902	twelfth man (Cricket)	1876
trivialization	1927	twelve-note, attrib. (Music)	1928
Trobriand, adj.	1937	twelve-tone, attrib. (Music)	1936
Trobriander	1931	Twenty Questions (parlour game)	1845
trochotron	1954	twerp, twirp	1925
trog (slang)	1956	twin bed(s)	1902
trolley-bus	1935	twin set	1947
trolley-shop	1958	two-dimensionality	1926
Trollopean, -ian, adj.	1903	two-fisted (= strong, vigorous; = clumsy, quots. not wanted)	1932
Trollopean, -ian, sb.	1927	two-time, attrib. (= deceitful, &c.)	1943
trompe-l'œil	1928	two-time, v. (to deceive, &c.)	1933
tropicalization	1945	two-timing, ppl. a. (double-crossing)	1935
tropicalized, ppl. adj.	1952	two-tone, attrib.	1906
tropospheric	1949	two-valued (Philosophy, &c.)	1933
Trotakytite	1937	tycoon (in mod. transf. sense; U.K. quots.)	1952
trouble-maker (O.E.D. without quot.)	1939	tycoonery	1958
trouble-shooter (other than repairer of telephones, used esp. of diplomats; U.S.)	1948	-type (as second element of compound adj.)	1924
trout, old (slang = old woman)	1914	type, v. (Theatre, Cinema, &c.)	1947
truth-claim	1920	type-cast, ppl. a. (Theatre)	1958
truth drug	1931	type-cast, v. (Theatre)	1952
truth-function	1922	type-casting, vbl. sb. (Theatre)	1927
truth-value	1903	type-face	1905
trypan blue	1911	type-fallacy	1935
Tsakonian	1948	type locality	1934
		type site (Archaeology)	1935
		typist	1923
		typographica	1931

Each word, phrase, or sense should be set out on a separate slip 6" x 4" (contributors may obtain standard-sized slips from the Editor), and full references should be given to author, title, volume, chapter, &c., of the work excerpted. The edition (when it has not been possible

to use the first) should be mentioned. When the quotation is from a periodical or newspaper, the writer's name should be omitted unless he is directly associated with the word (e.g. Sir A. Fleming and penicillin).

The slips should be set out in the following style:

- (i) The word itself, in the upper left-hand corner.
- (ii) Date; author (with double underline);

title of work (with single underline); volume number in large roman capitals (indicated by triple underline), part or book in small roman capitals (double underline), chapter in roman lower case. If preferred, vol., pt., bk., ch., p. may be used.

edition (where necessary), in the style (ed. 2);

page; column number, if printed in columns: thus 3/2 = page 3, column 2.

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Below is a specimen slip:

6"

carburation

1896 B. Donkin Gas, Oil, & Air Engines II. xxi.
(ed. 2) 303 The carburation of the air takes place in
the middle division.

4"

In the specimen slip, II. xxi. refer to part 2, chapter 21 of the work excerpted.

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